

THE IMPACT OF
MISSION SCHOOLS IN HONG KONG (1842-1905)
ON TRADITIONAL CHINESE EDUCATION
--- A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

1842 was the year when Hong Kong was founded as a British Colony by the Treaty of Nanking, while 1905 was the time when the Chinese Imperial Examination was abolished. In this period, two educational systems, Chinese and European, co-existed in Hong Kong.

Chapter One of this thesis highlights the impact of the Chinese tradition, i.e. the Confucian heritage and the Chinese Imperial Examination, on education in Hong Kong which was part of China before 1842.

Chapters Two, Three and Four examine the development of mission schools in Hong Kong in three periods of time, i.e. 1842-1859, 1859-1877 and 1877-1905 respectively. These periods correspond roughly to the different government educational policies in Hong Kong, which were crucial determinants in the development of mission schools. By looking into the aims of education, the administration of education, the financial situation, the curriculum, the qualifications of teachers in mission schools, and the reactions of Chinese parents, one can see the relationship between changes in government policies, missionary policies and the traditional ideology of the Chinese.

In the period 1842 to 1859, the government policy towards mission schools was laissez-faire, which neither interfered nor assisted. In contrast, government schools, which were dominated by missionaries, had a religious

character. Mission schools run on European educational lines failed to attract Chinese pupils.

From 1859 to 1877, the Hong Kong government adopted a secular educational policy. Government grants were limited to payment by results based on secular subjects. Different educational policies were adopted by the Protestants and the Roman Catholics to provide educational opportunities to the masses in reaction to government policies.

In the period of 1877-1905, due to the toleration of religious education and government encouragement, mission schools developed rapidly. However, towards the end of this period, these mission schools were in competition with schools established by the Chinese community groups. Meanwhile, mission schools were hampered by other unfavourable conditions.

Chapter Five draws a conclusion to the thesis and predicts the future development of mission schools, particularly after 1997, according to their achievement in the past.

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Chapter I CHINESE EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

UP TO 1905 -- THE CHINESE TRADITION

1.1 The Confucian Heritage

3,000 years ago, even before the Western Chou Dynasty (c. 11th century-771 B.C.) in China, the content of education was generally simple, but practical. Teaching concerned good relations between people.¹ Knowledge was pursued for the purpose of developing personality. At that time, the government ran and controlled the schools for both the ruling classes and the common people.

²Confucius (551-479B.C.), a prominent educationist, taught his disciples in the six arts³ which were to foster desirable behaviour. He crystallized the Chinese view of life and education.

Confucius was a pioneer of private education. He was also the first to state clearly that in teaching there should be no class-distinctions.⁴

His educational theory, in the writer's opinion, can be analysed into four components as follows:

(1) Educational Aims

(a) For Confucius, the educated man is a morally responsible person called chun-tzu (gentleman or virtuous man) who is fit for his own appropriate role.

(b) The aim of education is to educate officials working for the harmony of the state and country.

(2) Nature of Knowledge

Knowledge is for improving behaviour and attitudes.

(3) Human Nature

(a) Individual differences, i.e. differences in intellectual ability, are recognised.

(b) Man's nature is nearly alike; but through⁵ experience he grows wide apart.

(4) Educational Recommendation (Teaching Method)

(a) Teach virtues by setting up morally good examples, not by mere talking.

(b) Practise individualized teaching.

(c) Practise the five constant virtues,⁶ and filial piety to highlight "Reciprocity" (good relations with others) -- the key word of teaching.

(d) Emphasize⁷ the relationship between learning and thought.

(e) Include civil and military knowledge in the⁸ classics and six arts.

1.2 Aims of Chinese Education

After the 7th century, and especially in recent centuries, the educational aims were:

First, to train intellectuals to assist the emperor. This was to be achieved by means of the Imperial Examination which had a great impact on scholars. In many folk stories and songs, youngsters were encouraged to

study hard to achieve the ultimate purpose of getting better status by taking the Imperial Examination.

Second, to teach people to be literate in order to deal with daily events or have better job opportunities in businesses such as pawn shops and Chinese medicine shops.

Third, to cultivate the personality through Confucian teaching.

In short, the initial force of educational development was the Imperial Examination and subsequent advancement of the scholar. This meant, as J. Cleverley observed, that "the whole of the post-elementary sector was devoted to preparing candidates for its internal hierarchies".⁹

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that the aims of traditional Chinese education in Hong Kong were as follows:

(1) To prepare students for the Imperial Examination. This was probably the ultimate ideal aim of education commonly accepted by most Chinese who were wealthy enough to pursue it.

(2) To prepare students for practical work and literacy. In some distant poor villages, people studied only for the purpose of being able to deal with daily events or to get better jobs. Employees knowing the basic Chinese characters were much preferred by employers.

In addition to these two aims, Confucian teaching was infused by the proper behaviour to be learned by pupils.

1.3 Curriculum and the Imperial Examination System

1.3.1 Curriculum

From the 2nd century B.C. (the Han Dynasty) onwards, Confucianism became the orthodoxy of the feudal bureaucracy. As for the rulers, emperors regarded¹⁰ Confucianism as an instrument of social control.

Books which Confucius or his disciples wrote became the main teaching materials throughout the two thousand years of Chinese history. Undeniably, Confucian philosophy "dominated the ideology and customs of Imperial¹¹ China".

In order to enter for the Imperial Examination (or Civil Service Examination), people had to study in schools. Since the curriculum was governed by what was to be examined in the Imperial Examination, students were forced to follow the examination-oriented curriculum if they wanted to pass the Examination. It is plain to see that curriculum was controlled by the emperors through the Imperial Examination.

1.3.1.1 Pre-school and Family Education

Under the influence of Confucian teaching, pre-school or family education, involving the importance of rites, demeanour and the relationships between people, was the responsibility of parents. As Lu Shih-i stated,

Family education is the most imperative. Learning of cleanliness, social skills and politeness are

the matters of a real scholar.

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Family education, in some families, was rather strict and severe, and aimed at training children in morality, including manners and thought, and in perseverance.

In traditional Chinese society, when the children were young, it was mainly the mother who taught them and punished misbehaviour. The father remained the chief judge of the family. So it is said that "the mother¹³ punishes more often and the father more severely".

In Hong Kong, the Chinese, especially those families very much under the influence of traditional beliefs, also paid much attention to family education. With an emphasis on morality and social manners, parents consciously taught their children before the children went to school.

In some families, parents provided their children with fundamental education by reciting the classics or by getting them to recognise basic characters.

In the poor families, children, if the parents were literate, might be taught by them in their early years.

1.3.1.2 School Education

School education, both at central and at local level, flourished between the 7th and the 10th centuries (the Sui and Tang Dynasty). Besides the imperial college and central-administered schools for the children of noblemen and high ranking officials, there were central schools specialising in calligraphy, mathematics, law and medical

science. At the local level, there were schools to teach Confucian Classics and medical science, administered by prefectures and counties.¹⁴

It is interesting that in traditional Chinese education, the curriculum of the private elementary schools was not restricted by regulations made by central and local governments. No internal examinations or laid down curriculum were needed. In these circumstances, how was the educational content standardised? Simply, it was governed by the syllabuses of the Imperial Examination conducted on behalf of the emperor. The curriculum closely followed the topics to be examined.

In the first place, children were required to know the characters. As Lu Shih-i pointed out,

To know the characters is the first important knowledge in children's studies. Amidst the six methods of formation of Chinese characters, "modelling the shape of real things" and "pointing out the abstract things" were two kinds of characters mainly to be learnt.

Throughout two thousand years, the Four Books¹⁵ and Five Classics¹⁷ were the common core curriculum and major examination content in addition to other literature or whatever else the emperor decided. Many books were compiled for children and beginners as elementary readers, such as Meng-kau (Teaching for Beginners),¹⁸ Chien-tzu-wen (The Thousand-Character Classic),¹⁹ San-tzu-ching (The Trimetrical Classic),²⁰ and Pai-chia-hsing (Hundred Surnames).²¹

(1) Chien-tzu-wen (The Thousand-Character Classic)

consists of 1000 characters being organised into four-character couplets with no repetition.

(2) San-tzu-ching (The Trimetrical Classic) was organised into 3 character couplets with more than 1000 characters.

(3) Pai-chia-hsing (The Hundred Surnames) consists of 400 family surnames but some of them are double-barrelled.

These books for beginners, were not only for character recognition but also for moral education, as well as offering knowledge of basic Astronomy, History, Geography, and social skills etc.. In the elementary schools, filial piety and proper behaviour towards family members as a basic element of the Confucian teaching was conveyed to pupils.²²

Although these books were not all in story form, they introduced characters in an easy and memorable manner for children beginning to read.²³ These books were prepared on the basis of couplets and rhymed verses, and made full use of the mono-syllable Chinese characters to help beginners to read, recite and memorize.

Altogether there were more than 1500 different characters for the young people to recognise before²⁴ or after their enrolment in formal schools. If nobody in the family could teach the child to recognise these Chinese characters, learning would be postponed until they entered normal schooling. It was intended that these books should be studied completely in a year, at a rate of²⁵ learning ten new characters daily.

To arouse the interest of children in their studies, some poems, fables, stories and the like were put together in books with rhymed verses and couplets for easy reading. Chien-Chia-shih (A Collection of Poems), Tang-shih san-pai-shou (Tang 618-907 A.D. Poetry), Yu-hsueh (Juvenile Instruction), Hsiao-ching (The Classic of Filial Piety) and the like, were some of the texts popularly used.

Study of the preceeding books would be followed by the Four Books and Five Classics described as the kernel of Confucian education. At this stage, pupils had the opportunity to learn more characters and could prepare for the Imperial Examination if they wished.

In Hong Kong under the traditional Chinese education system, the curriculum closely followed the above content. More classic novels, and couplet or document writings for practical use, might be used in some places. This is because a literate person, whether or not intending to prepare for the Imperial Examination, would be likely to perform the functions of a scribe for other villagers, particularly in those villages with only a few educated people. The Chinese Primers for beginners and Classics were taught in most of the mission schools providing elementary education for the Chinese during the period of 1842 to 1905.

In Hong Kong, there was no internal examination, no imposed curriculum and no class divisions in the tutorial schools.²⁶ Each pupil could progress at his own rate.

The daily class schedule generally included a great deal of reading, recitation, review and writing.

Apart from the above common core curriculum, other subjects were not usually taught. Other subjects were taught in appropriate locales or after school according to the interest of the teacher. Arithmetic, generally simple calculation, was taught in the family or during tutorial periods. Teaching the simple use of the abacus was sometimes included, subject to the interest and knowledge of the teacher. If the student found it necessary to use the abacus in his work, he would learn this in the slack periods during his employment.

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Science, technological and cultural subjects were ignored because they were not examined in the Imperial Examination. As the Encyclopaedia Britannica mentioned,

In early times Chinese education was broad and liberal, but by the 19th Century, literacy ability and knowledge of the classics had become practically the sole concern of the examinations and of education. Art, music and science had been dropped on the wayside; even arithmetic was not accorded the same importance as reading and writing. Modern science and technology were completely neglected.

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There were changes in the form of education when disciples of Confucius gave new interpretations of his teaching. Scholars modelled their style on that of the ancient sages and learnt their teaching rather than that of their contemporaries. They sought knowledge only from books. As a result, educational training meant reading books which were deeply in the mind of scholars.

Therefore, "the later development of Confucianism inhibited scientific speculation as the doctrine favoured literary investigations above experimentation".²⁹

Since technical and cultural subjects were left out of the traditional curriculum, these kinds of knowledge could not easily be made available in the texts or in the tutorial period. In Hong Kong, in some villages, the knowledge necessary to cope with daily events was taught in addition to the knowledge needed for the Examination. In this situation, the aim of education was to make oneself literate and to equip oneself with the necessary skills to cope with daily life. Even so, science and technical subjects were neglected. As a matter of fact, in Chinese traditional education, whether, or not, students participated in the Imperial Examination, science and technological subjects were not considered worth studying. Even today, technical subjects are not entirely accepted by Chinese parents, although Hong Kong is by now an industrial and commercial city.

Moreover, in ancient China, physical education was not taught as a subject in the schools as military degrees did not lead to high status among the Chinese. Physical education only received attention among those who liked it, or those who were brought up in families with a military background, or those preparing for military degrees.

However, "the military examinations were important

only in theory and were neglected by the government and by society alike".³⁰ Therefore, for pragmatic reasons, physical education was not included in the curriculum.

In the writer's opinion, the unfavourable traditional attitude towards military men can be accounted for in the following ways:

(1) The Emperor intended to protect his throne and would not permit the military to gain too much authority or dominate government policies. Accordingly, "through the examination system the central government of China greatly favored literary studies and advanced civilians to important posts, while keeping subordinate to them the military officers with their concern for physical power".³¹ From the 10th century onwards, the posts of Minister of War (ping-pu-shang-shu) and the chief of the military staffs were usually filled by civilians. Furthermore, military officers of high ranks were limited in number.³²

(2) For hundreds of years, literary civilians were regarded as Chun-tzu (gentlemen, or virtuous men) who were highly respected because of their knowledge and morality.

(3) The Chinese tradition, which held manual labour to be beneath reading, made people neglect physical education.

(4) China was populated with different races. The Han people formed the majority of the people in China. If the emperor did not belong to the Han, he tried to eliminate the likelihood of resistance or rebellion. In these

circumstances, it was crucial for the ruler to ensure that civilians spent their time and energy on their studies rather than becoming high ranking military officials who might be a constant and powerful source of resistance prompted by racial consciousness.

This unbalanced development in civil and military degrees existed for hundreds of years in China. According to the figures below on the award of civil and military degrees in Hong Kong, one can see that civil academic degrees were more popular.

Academic Degrees	Chu-yen and Above	% Out of Total
Civil	12 ³³	66.67
Military	6	33.33

Sources: (1) Wang Chung-hsi, et al. (comp.), Hsin-an hsien chih (Hsin-an County Gazetteer), Taipei, Cheng-wen chu-pan-she, 1974, Chapter 15-16.

(2) The genealogies of Tengs, Liaos and Wens etc.

(3) Wong Chai-lok, Hsiang-kang chung-wen chiao-yu fa-chan shih (A History of the Development of Chinese Education in Hong Kong), Hong Kong, Po Wen Book Co., 1982, pp.73-7.

One point that should be emphasized is that all military Chu-yen in Hong Kong were accountable to the Teng clan residing at Kam Tin, Ping Shan and Lung Yeuk Tau. The Tengs was the largest clan in Hong Kong in number, wealth and prestige. Another point to be stressed is that these military Chu-yen got neither official posts nor

followed higher military studies after taking a degree. One might ask why they took military degrees. In the writer's opinion, this was due to their wealthy family background. Obtaining a military degree through entering the Imperial Examination meant glory to these military Chu-yen and their own clan, although it might not be useful in practice. Since they already had wealth and prestige, the glory conferred by the Imperial Examination was the only satisfaction to be gained.

In some of the study halls in Hong Kong, e.g., "Cheung-chun Yuen" at Kam Tin and the "Sin-sui Study Hall" at Lung Yeuk Tau, instruments such as swords, weights and bows can still be seen.³⁴ These basic instruments reflect what was required in the Imperial Examination for the military degrees. Shooting arrows, drawing a bow, brandishing a ching-lung tao (green dragon sword) and weight lifting³⁵ were all included. Thus, through these physical education instruments, we have a general idea of the curriculum and the nature of the examinations leading to military degrees.

It is interesting that the curriculum for military degrees was followed only in the large clans in Hong Kong. Generally, the poor were not interested in military degrees because such a degree would not help them to climb the social ladder.

Calligraphy was an essential component in the elementary education curriculum in China. Good

calligraphy was required for the Imperial Examination, particularly in deciding the top-three positions, since the examinee's calligraphy was considered to be one of the important criteria.

Teaching methods received little attention in ancient China although Confucius and Mencius (372-289 B.C.) said that different teaching methods suited various types of students.³⁶

Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528) proposed the child should be given as much freedom as possible in order to ensure the harmonious development of the powers of the individual through education. He explained,

Child nature enjoys freedom and fears restriction. It may be likened to a plant in its stage of germination; left to itself, it will grow, but interfered with, it will wither and decay. In instructing the child, if his natural inclinations are stimulated, and his innermost self is made happy, there will be no end to his growth.

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Wang Wen (1st half of the 19th century) in his book Chiao tung-tzu fa (Method of Teaching Children) put much emphasis on teaching methods. He wrote,

Teaching the kids is just like planting trees: breeding and watering are entailed, then trees can grow strongly and highly up to the sky.

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As a matter of fact, for thousands of years in China, "child-centred" education was not practised. Pedagogy was planned and implemented mainly by the teacher. Teachers were those in authority and corporal punishment was frequently carried out. One of the elementary texts -- San-tzu-ching (the Trimetrical Classic) mentions,

If teaching is not strict, it shows the laziness of the teacher.

Thus, teachers would not talk freely or make jokes with students. Corporal punishment such as standing or kneeling down in front of a portrait of Confucius and the like was frequently used by the teacher. Most of the Chinese parents agreed with the traditional saying: "corporal punishment and rigorous teaching can persuade a child to be good in future". Consequently, punishment is not uncommon in primary schools, even today in Hong Kong.

Reciting the texts was actually the main traditional teaching method. Students followed the teacher who read the text phrase by phrase.³⁹ According to missionary records, the ability and willingness of the Chinese children in Hong Kong to recite impressed foreigners a great deal, even in the 20th century. Although students sat together in one group, progress depended entirely on the performance of individual students.

In conclusion, it is clear that the content and teaching method in the Chinese traditional education had a great influence on the mission schools in Hong Kong during the period 1842 to 1905. The traditional curriculum was retained in most of the mission schools in order to attract students or meet parental requirements.

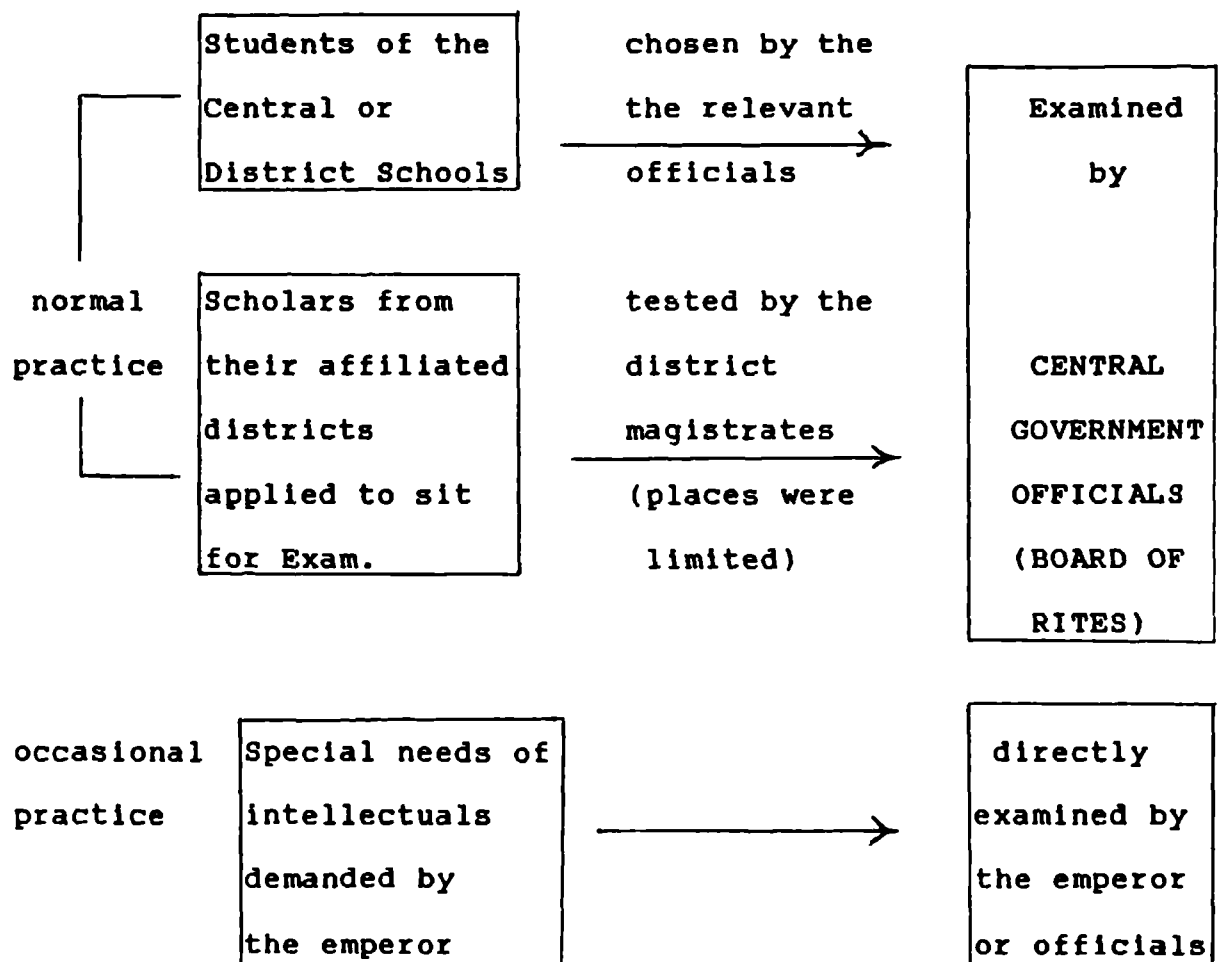
1.3.2 The Chinese Imperial Examination System

1.3.2.1 Aims of the Imperial Examination

In the 6th to the 7th century, the Chinese Imperial Examination was established for the main purposes of selecting intellectuals to assist the emperor and break down the hierarchical system which was dominated by officials of high rank.

1.3.2.2 Features of the Imperial Examination

A simplified diagram of the Chinese Imperial Examination during the 8th century is shown as follows:



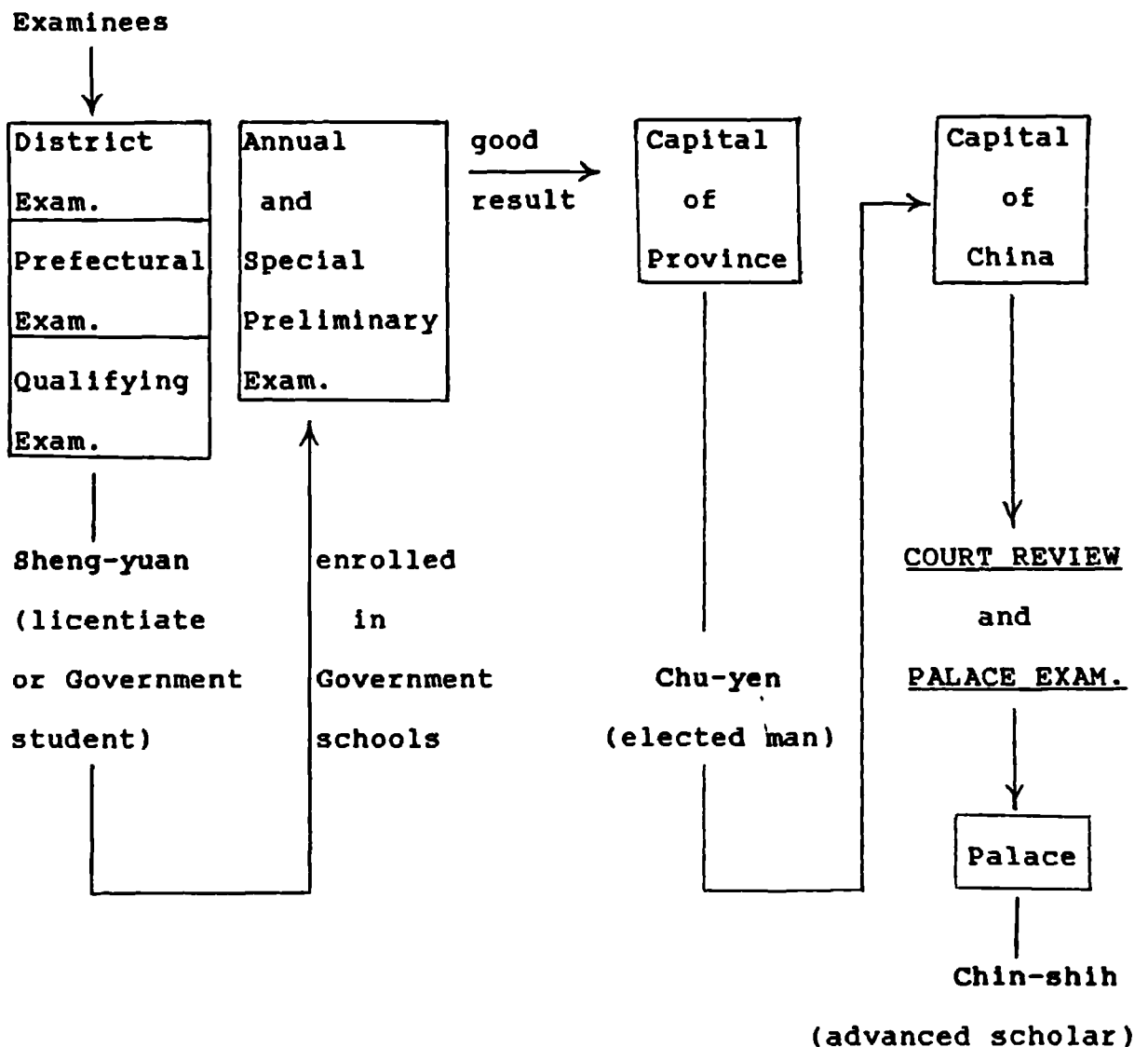
According to Tung-tien (Source Material on Political and Social History), only one percent of candidates passed the Examination in the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.).⁴⁰ The successful candidates had to have another four-part test⁴¹ prior to their appointment. This included physical, oral, calligraphic and official document practices. It emphasized the practical use of knowledge. However, it was gradually dropped.

A few centuries later, the Imperial Examination procedures were changed. A simplified diagram of the Chinese Imperial Examination in the 19th century is shown below:

YOUTH
EXAMINATION

PROVINCIAL
EXAMINATION

METROPOLITAN
EXAMINATION



In the late Ching Dynasty (19th century) about one man out of every 3000 licentiates had the good fortune to receive the Chin-shih (advanced scholar) degree.

In general, throughout the 14th - 19th centuries, many rigid regulations were set up for the control of the Examination. Official invigilators and examinees were

rigorously selected. The inspection of the students was severe to prevent cheating during the examinations. After the examination, the scripts were copied in red ink by the officials. The markers had no chance of knowing the names of the examinees or of recognising their writings.

The examinees' identities, the occupations of their ancestors and the original domiciles were rigidly examined before they were permitted to enter for the examination. This was because people from many occupations were not allowed to enter the Examination, and the quota in each district was prescribed by the government.

1.3.2.3 The Significance and Drawbacks of the Examination

The significance of the Imperial Examination was principally that the elite was selected by means of public competition, so that scholars gradually became the most highly esteemed people in China.

Social mobility was possible under the Imperial Examination. As the Encyclopaedia Britannica noted,

Chinese society was not without classes, but there was a high degree of social mobility, and education provided the opportunity of raising one's position and status. There were no rigid prerequisites and no age limits for taking the examination. Selection was rigorous, but the examination were, on the whole administered with fairness.

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The uniformity of syllabuses in education, produced by the Examination, helped to unify China in writing Chinese characters, culture, and the like.

Despite the rise in the status of scholars, this examination system had many disadvantages. The low percentage of candidates passing and the complexity of examination procedures exerted great pressure on examinees who frequently died during the Examination. Some highly learned men, could not even pass the entrance examination (Youth Examination) to a government school, even though⁴⁴ they tried from youth to old age.

For the poor, poverty was an obstacle. Ichisada Miyazaki estimated that the fees for taking the Metropolitan and Palace Examination in the Capital in the 16th century were approximately 600 ounces of silver, or the cost for a couple travelling around the world in comfort nowadays.⁴⁵ This accounts for the attraction of the early mission schools in Hong Kong to a small number of pupils (especially the poor), because they could not climb the social ladder easily through the Imperial Examination.

Furthermore, the examined subjects were of no practical use. The content of the examinations became more and more limited in scope. The Confucian Classics constituted the core, and a narrow and rigid⁴⁶ interpretation of them prevailed. Particularly from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) on, the writing of the "eight-legged essay" (a prescribed form based on a fixed stylistic pattern with a limited number of words was designed to elucidate the meaning of the Confucian

classics) was taken as one of the criteria for passing the examination.⁴⁷ The candidates generally paid attention to the form of the essays, but not to meaning.

Even worse, some candidates recited former examination answer papers in order to sit for the examination,⁴⁸ instead of studying books.

The sale of degrees debased the original nature of Examination when the government was financially embarrassed.

From the 14th century on, since scholars could study for degrees by means of self-study rather than in schools, the improvement of school education was inhibited.

1.3.2.4 The Abolition of the Imperial Examination

In face of increasing foreign aggression, a "self-strengthening" movement in China took place in the 2nd half of the 19th century. "Chinese learning as the basis;⁴⁹ Western learning for practical use" was advocated. Modelling the education system on those of Western countries was advocated in place of the traditional one.

Gradually opposition to the Imperial Examination system increased but the reform of this Examination system was slow and limited. Degrees from other countries were officially accepted by the government as being equivalent to Chinese degrees, but in fact were not regarded as highly as degrees from the Imperial Examination. It was obvious that the Chinese still valued traditional subjects

rather than the newly added subjects. It seemed that reform would not succeed if the Examination system continued because schools run on new educational lines could not be developed and new examination subjects were not highly regarded by the Chinese who had a strong faith in the Chinese Classics. So in 1905 the Imperial Examination system was abolished.

In conclusion, the Imperial Examination should not be condemned, but it should be seen as a way of controlling the thoughts of people. In other words, the Imperial Examination had a profound effect on the societal ideology of the Chinese.

1.3.2.5 The Importance and Impact of the Imperial Examination

Conforming as it did, with traditional beliefs and thoughts, the academic degree system through the Imperial Examination reflected a traditional Chinese ideology which shaped the mental states of the people. Since within the prefectures or districts, the number of successful candidates was directly related to the level of taxes paid and the amount of national help given in times of famine and disaster, competition between districts, and even provinces, was likely to occur.⁵⁰ Therefore, the academic degree system was extremely important in each area.

For the families and clans, obtaining an academic degree was one way to show filial piety and bring glory to

parents or ancestors,⁵¹ because the memorial tablets of the "Chin-shih" degree holders who were of either the same surname or geographic origin, were housed in the ancestral halls.⁵² Consequently, the kinship relationships were strengthened.

For the individual, having passed part of the Examination, a scholar, could enjoy authority, prestige and high status in society as one of the "scholar gentry". In a village he could enjoy the privileges as one of the village elders or the leaders.⁵³ After climbing the degree ladder, a scholar could acquire wealth and receive an official rank. These were much desired. Therefore, many folksongs and stories fostered the idea that academic degrees would lead to glory, prestige, privilege, and success in climbing the social ladder.

Although the Imperial Examination was abolished, the worship of the two gods Wen and Wu is still practised in Chinese society in Hong Kong. In ancient times, these gods were believed to give people a chance to pass the Imperial Examination, and this has been carried over to modern examinations today. Examination results are still highly commended. Education is still regarded as the means of securing good jobs, prestige and wealth.

1.4 The Organisation of School Accommodation

The clan schools or study halls, set up by local

clans, promoted a narrow kinship ideology and prepared pupils for the Imperial Examination, since, with few exceptions, the schools were for children of the same lineage or family. Thus this kind of school gave learning opportunities to the children of the same surname. Some study halls, though small in number, served a particular family or a limited number of related families. Family schools (Ka-ssu) can be regarded as private schools while the clan schools were for the public but served a very restricted group.

Although most of the public schools served a group of related people, some were open to the public for the convenience of scholars in the adjoining areas. For example, in Hong Kong, "Ching Kuan Ka-Ssu" at Nam Chung, was typical and attracted some scholars from other parts of China.

Even the schools set up by associations or charity groups, sometimes served a limited group of people. These people probably owned the school sites and financially supported the running of these schools.

Teaching could also be carried out in a teacher's house with very simple equipment which served as a school. This was regarded as a private school serving the public.

It is worth noting that most of the buildings where teaching took place were not used exclusively for study although some of them employed the name "College" or "Study Hall". The varied functions of these places were

as follows:

1.4.1 Libraries for Scholars

Originally the notion of College or Study Hall, literally meant a place for proof-reading and the storing of books. This was the situation in most government Colleges. From the beginning of the 11th century, officials had to apply for the delivery of books to the emperor. Accordingly, it was said that the storage of⁵⁴ these books helped scholars' studies. Books were scarce on account of the shortage of printing skills; and book-publishing was not common. It was not until the 16-17th century, when printed books became more common, that the diffusion of books and culture became more pronounced. However, the public could still not get books easily if they were not well off. Consequently, the storage of books in the Colleges or Study Halls for scholars to study and refer to, became a very useful and significant way of increasing educational opportunity and assisting the spread of literacy.

1.4.2 Ancestral Halls or Temples for Worship, Celebrations, and Places for Public Meetings

The ancestral halls were originally places for the commemoration of ancestors, and for the housing of ancestral tablets. In traditional China, the ancestral halls served many purposes. They were venues for

celebrations, public meetings, and the education of the young, as well as being used for their original purpose.⁵⁵ They were usually owned by families, and sometimes by all members of a village or several villages who had the same surname, and thus formed a clan. Under the auspices of the clan, an ancestral hall could be used as a rent free place for teaching. This reduced the cost of running a school. Decreases in the financial burden promoted education.

In the writer's judgement, the support of the clansmen ensured the success of elementary education and the growth of popular literacy. An academic degree might not necessarily be pursued, since there were many complex determinants affecting the situation, e.g., wealth and the traditional background of the clan.

An ancestral hall which was used as the main locale for studies, was regarded as a clan school during the Ching Dynasty, particularly, in villages where study places were insufficient or nonexistent. In Hong Kong, the Pengs' Hall in Fan Ling was a typical example. Separate premises for studying were not built, so the only thing the Peng clan could do was to make use of the facilities in the village. The ancestral hall was found to be the most appropriate place with comparatively good equipment.⁵⁶

Sometimes, villagers or the inhabitants of an area, were pleased by the competence of and the contributions

made by local administrative officials. The ideology of a traditional villager ensured that officials were regarded as venerable and knowledgeable gentry, who deserved to be respected and imitated.⁵⁷ Therefore, studies in the halls built for these officials were a much appreciated cultural activity. An example in Hong Kong was the Chou-Wang-erh-kung College at Kam Tin.⁵⁸

Temples were originally for the worship of Gods, but occasionally they became meeting places for the villagers when important resolutions relating to public affairs were dealt with. Apart from this, temples particularly those dedicated to the worship of the Wen and Wu Gods, were also places for study. According to legend, the Wen and Wu Gods, had the authority to praise some people and punish others for their behaviour. In addition, they controlled the award of academic degrees to scholars as well as the promotion or the downgrading of officials. In fact, this kind of temples was the most suitable place in which to study, since scholars hoped that by studying there they would have recourse to the authority of these two Gods and could get a particular academic award. An example is the I-tai (literally two kings, meaning the two gods Wen and Wu) College in Kam Tin.⁵⁹ -- Inside these premises, where the two Gods were worshipped, there was a study hall for the Sheng-yuan (licentiate) and for further research by those who had already obtained a higher degree.

1.4.3 The Accommodation for Teachers, Visiting Lecturers or Scholars:

Occasionally, some of the study halls could be used as accommodation for teachers, visiting lecturers or scholars. In some cases, particularly in the villages, teachers came from other places. To cut down the educational expenses, teachers were allowed to lodge in the side chambers of the buildings. This arrangement of teacher accommodation was convenient for both the teacher and the student. It was quite helpful to educational development, especially primary education.

However, in a number of cases, the hall was used for convivial purposes, for holding feasts for visiting scholars or designated people in the village, and even for meetings held by the elders of the village.

Another typical form of school was found particularly in the remote areas, or in small villages with fewer people. These schools were, in fact, the teachers' dwelling places which were generally very small. They were only big enough to conduct informal individual teaching for a few children. As a matter of fact, it was common practice for them to serve several adjoining villages which were isolated geographically from other villages. Teachers could not easily be employed in outlying areas and places of poverty.

Despite the many kinds of accommodation used, teaching was still conducted effectively. Moreover, educational

development could still take place. For instance, ancestral and commemorative worship rituals conveyed the notion of filial piety and respect for elders; these ceremonies were normally held at a time which did not clash with lessons. As H. D. R. Baker pointed out,

....the necessity of using the halls for ceremonies, feasts or meetings could not cause undue interference with schooling.

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Although the above excerpt only mentions the condition of an ancestral hall at Sheung Shui in Hong Kong, which was a large clan school in this area, the successful multiple use of a building occurred in most villages.

Likewise, the large number of books stored in these halls provided supplementary reading for scholars who could use them at any time.

The size of the study halls varied a great deal. Some accommodated hundreds of students and were places for cultural gatherings and lectures by transient scholars.⁶¹ On the other hand, some were rather small and unsuitable for public use and could only be used for domestic purposes. Yet, the existence of these places provides evidence that local elementary education was in the process of development.

1.5 Administration

Local elementary schooling was crucial in traditional

Chinese education, regardless of whether or not scholars went on to take an academic degree. In the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911) the government schools set up in the capitals of counties or prefectures were places where scholars were registered for the preliminary tests which eventually led to the Sheng-yuan degree.⁶² So, "during the Ming and Ching Dynasties (1368-1911), the University in the capital and the government schools in prefectures and districts⁶³ were schools in name only". In them lectures were conducted occasionally by visiting mandarins or Directors of Studies. Because of the administrative function of the government schools, education was left to local schools in most of which subjects were taught, more or less, with the Imperial Examination in mind. As Hu Shih wrote,

The only thing that the Emperor did was to confer the order and set the standard of the examination, then schools would be established everywhere providing suitable curricula. The Government did not need to spend any money on schools.

⁶⁴

Likewise, during the Ching Dynasty, the village schools in Hong Kong (part of Hsin-an County in the Kuang-chou Prefecture) were responsible for providing local elementary education because the government schools set up at Nan-tau⁶⁵ (the Capital of Hsin-an County) and Canton (the Capital of Kwangtung Province) were not places for study. These village schools were usually clan schools or study halls.

In small villages, as mentioned in the section on organisation of school accommodation of this chapter,

teaching in multi-function buildings, such as temples, ancestral halls or particularly in a teacher's own residence was usual. Separate premises were rarely used.

Owing to the limited number of children or the poverty of the parents, teachers could not earn a living in these small villages only by teaching. Under these circumstance, commonly two measures were employed:

First, a school might serve several adjoining villages. Such schools frequently depended on a single teacher, and closed when he was too old to continue teaching. At that time, the children might finish their studies or find another nearby school, which was likely to be more than an hour's walk away.

Second, the teacher could increase his insufficient income by farming as well as teaching. Hence, during busy periods such as the harvest, teaching might have been limited or irregular. This kind of village school contained very few children. Ten was typical, but sometimes, the total number was less than five. Therefore, in these one-teacher schools policy planning and teaching were entirely undertaken by the teacher, particularly in the most remote and poor villages. Accordingly, the teacher, who would have been the only literate person in the district, was highly respected. As a matter of fact, no one dared to query any of the educational activities undertaken by him.

With regard to the administration of schools, in

large villages, there was no direct government funding or control. A school might be run by a local clan, a village organisation of an educated family. Clan schools, particularly those of the wealthy clans in Hong Kong, such as the Tengs at Kam Tin, the Liaos at Sheung Shui and the Wens at San Tin and Tai Hang, were relatively much larger and might occupy separate buildings. A school manager might be elected from among the elite villagers to deal with educational affairs in relatively systematically organised schools.

Yet, the teacher's authority was, usually, not challenged except in the case of a private tutor. As a matter of fact, even in the larger and wealthier villages, according to common custom, teachers were not held accountable by the villagers or by members of the communes or associations, because they were respected. There were some exceptions, but generally decisions on curriculum and teaching methods were made independently by the teacher.

It is worth noting that there was no government intervention in the development of elementary education in villages unless an anti-governmental conspiracy, demagogic speeches or serious anti-traditional teaching were revealed. Hence, generally, village schools in Hong Kong were autonomous.

1.6 Teacher-Pupil Relationships and the Qualifications and Finance of Teachers

1.6.1 Teacher-Pupil Relationships

"The prestige and power conceded the degree holder, elevated the profession of teaching".⁶⁶ The traditional relation between teachers and students was one of the most sacrosanct in the Confucian world, and education in Confucian ethics, including learning the proper modes of respect towards one's teacher, was crucial. This could be seen in the students' demeanour to their teachers:

Every morning when the scholar enters the room, he bows first before the tablet (of Confucius) and then to his teacher.

⁶⁷

In deference to the teachers, criticism of them by parents and students was rare. Teachers usually could teach without being questioned. Scholars modelled themselves on their teachers. So, in Hong Kong, even in the early 20th century, a good Chinese Classics teacher was an important way of attracting scholars to a mission school.

1.6.2 Qualification of the Teachers

Owing to the absence of control over rural education from the district or central government, and the lack of teacher training, the quality of teachers varied from place to place.

In Hong Kong, at that time, no qualification was

required of teachers. In the middle of the 19th century, owing to the lack of teachers on Hong Kong Island, the quality of teachers was very low. This was due to the shortage of teachers and the unemployment problem in society. Many law-breakers became teachers and their behaviour was poor. For example, the master at Tai Tam Tuk (a place on Hong Kong Island) was charged with highway robbery.⁶⁸ Some devoted most of their time to opium-smoking or gambling.⁶⁹ There can be no doubt that these examples were the result of the lack of teacher training and a failure to standardise teacher qualifications.

Generally, traditional Chinese teachers were those whose knowledge or ability was recognised by the members of the community concerned with education. Some teachers had, in fact, failed their academic degree in the Imperial Examination. Since they were not strong enough to be farmers, they worked as teachers. Moreover, they needed more time to study in order to have another chance to obtain a degree. Undoubtedly, for a scholar, teaching was a desirable means of earning a living if he had to work at all. Such teachers, might or might not possess a high level of knowledge. Their teaching methods were copied from their former teacher(s) because there was no teacher training. For these reasons, the efficiency of teaching was connected with the attitude of the individual teacher, who might for example be depressed after his failure in the Imperial Examination (perhaps on many occasions).

The real scholars, i.e., the Sheng-yuan (Sau-tsoi or licentiates) or the higher degree holders, particularly those in the wealthy clans, usually did not work as teachers, since they were well enough off to continue their studies or were not willing to take up paid teaching. Nevertheless, a few taught out of a sense of vocation.

In fact, if a literate person did not want to be a farmer, teaching appealed as a way of having an easier life. Sometimes, schools were run by the literate elders who had retired or handed over their farm work to younger men, so in their declining years they could spend time teaching. This way of securing a teacher was effective in times of teacher shortage in remote villages.

1.6.3 The Finance of Teachers

In China, the financial resources of schools might come from personal endowment, investment in school lands, real estate, funds or government aid.⁷⁰ However, there is no evidence to show which of these financial sources supported village schools in Hong Kong.

Doubtless, a school was supported principally by the parents of enrolled children. Parents could pay school fees in various ways. School furniture, i.e., chairs and tables, might be taken from students' houses into a school or study class for the study period, if necessary. Moreover, teaching might take place in public places,

i.e., ancestral halls, temples or study halls to reduce expenses since rental fees and subscriptions, generally, were not required by the clansmen. This was one way in which the clans and communal organisations helped schools.

E. S. Rawski gave an account of teachers' salaries:

A teacher received monetary offerings at the beginning and end of the school term, and "mat", "wine" or "food" each, along with other gifts during major festivals throughout the school year.....Free room and board were provided.

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Most schools paid teachers in grain or money.

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In Hong Kong, parents, especially in distant villages, paid school fees in kind: rice, fuel and services. In addition, meat, poultry or food for festival celebrations were given. A small amount of money was also offered. In fact, this method of school payment was practised in the time of Confucius. It was likely that a teacher would set up a school in his own house and all payments in whatever form, were made direct to him.

Because of the small scale of the school and the traditional customs, servants were usually not employed. Most of the work was done by the teacher himself. In addition, by providing services, including getting water, sweeping the house, lighting the fire and cooking food, some pupils offered their services to show respect for their teacher. It was due to the traditional Chinese ideology: heaven, earth, the emperor, parents and the teacher are the five things to be respected. This ideology dated from the era of Confucius.

Occasionally, direct payment was also made to the schools run by clans or communal groups. Yet, this was not commonly practised in Hong Kong. For example, Man Shek Tong, an ancestral hall in Sheung Shui, formerly acted a school. The clansmen assisted only by providing the ancestral hall as a free educational locale.⁷³ The salary of the teacher had to be paid directly by parents. As mentioned previously, owing to their insufficient income, some teachers might spend some of their time teaching as well as farming or in medical practice.

In some larger traditional villages, the community would give the teacher a certain salary in cash or in kind and services. Sometimes the teacher found that it was more useful to be paid in kind, particularly in an agricultural society.

1.7 Social Background

1.7.1 Pupils

Since the time of Confucius, a student's age has never been important in Chinese culture. Many of Confucius' students were much older than he. Anyone would receive administrative and diplomatic training regardless of his class background⁷⁴ and age. Moreover, since the age of the examinee was not restricted, if a person had not passed the Youth Examination, he could still be called⁷⁵ tung-sheng (youth pupil) even though he might be an old

man. Some people had the degree conferred on them by the Emperor because they had taken part in the Imperial Examination many times and were more than eighty years old.⁷⁶

In the rural districts of Hong Kong, the enrolment of pupils was restricted by poverty, the remoteness of their homes, lack of teachers and so on. This was due to the hardships of life; when people could barely earn a living, literacy seemed of little importance.

As a rule, eight, in the Chinese counting style ("seven" in western counting style), was the age when school studies started.⁷⁷ In exceptional cases children might start school as young as five. The learning of elementary primers, the Four Books and the prescribed Classics was normally completed in six years of study. There can be no doubt that the notion of age and duration of schooling is not strictly applicable due to the variety of individual abilities and other problems.

1.7.2 Gender — Girls' Education

As for the gender of students, the male had greater opportunity for education than the female. Owing to the low status of females in traditional Chinese society, before the early 20th century, only males were publicly accepted by schools. Separate studies were prescribed for girls of the upper class in the case of political marriages across families and clans.⁷⁸

The reasons for low female status are many. In traditional Chinese society female were looked down upon. A newly-born son, generally, delighted the whole family and a piece of jade was given to him. But if a girl was born, a tile was given. The status of a newly-born son had to be recognised, but according to custom not that of a girl, particularly in the clan villages where the rules of succession had to be rigidly followed. Females were only regarded as subordinates in a family. Hence, their status was very low. Many customs were set up which were⁷⁹ harmful to females, e.g., foot-binding and concubinage.

Moreover, for moral reasons, social contact between males and females was restricted. Therefore, it was uncommon for a girl to be educated publicly.

Furthermore, since girls were unable to take the Imperial Examination and become officials in order to gain prestige and wealth for their family, and could only incur dowry expenses, they were not regarded as an asset to the⁸⁰ family.

Undoubtedly, Chinese traditional attitudes greatly affected female education in the sense that "a girl is not a family member of a family since she must eventually⁸¹ marry out". A girl's education was considered of benefit to her husband's family but was regarded as an expense by her father's family. Even nowadays in Hong Kong, in some rural villagers still regard girls as "goods⁸² on which one loses". It is unlikely that girls would be

educated under these circumstances.

With this Chinese attitude to females, girls' education was not supported even by rich or powerful families. Furthermore, we can see the limited educational opportunity for a girl by referring to some Chinese proverbs,

"A woman too well educated is apt to create trouble."

"A woman without talents is a virtue."

Instead of receiving formal education, it was important for a girl to learn the "Three Obediences and
83
Four Virtues of Women". Consequently, in her father's family she could be trained as a highly moral person for the purposes of carrying out household duties and accepting the role of a good wife and mother in her husband's family. Yet, according to Chinese custom, she should not be knowledgeable.

In fact, if there had to be a choice of educating either a son or a daughter, girls always lost their chance. They would go to work in order to earn money for their families, or take care of family members at home, particularly in poor families. For example, in the 1890s, when a sugar refinery was opened in Tang-Lung-Chau on Hong Kong Island offering ten cents a day, the girls from the girls' schools in the vicinity gave up education in order to work there. Miss. Davies of the London Missionary Society generalized the failure of her girls' school established there by saying,

....so the girls of a family are often sent to work that the boys may continue to "read books".

84

In the rural districts, the cultivation of crops and fishing required man-power and girls or women, whose education was assumed not to be pressing, did not remain in school for long. At any time they might be withdrawn from schools by their parents.

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This phenomenon is evident in Hong Kong especially in the old-style families even recently. In the 1960s, a study was made in Hang Mei, which was a clan village situated in the western side of the New Territories. The study indicated that preference for a boy's education to that of a girl's still exists. It showed,

....where a choice must be made between educating a son or a daughter, the son always receives the better education.

86

As J. M. Potter wrote,

If a family is poor, they will send only their son to middle school.

87

It would be hard to deny that with the exception of a few individual cases, the overwhelming majority of females in China at the start of the 20th century, particularly among the lower classes, were not well-educated, and could be regarded as illiterate.

Thus, the chances of schooling for a female were limited. There were a few exception: some girls from wealthy families did learn under private tutors.

As a matter of fact, in China, official recognition of female education did not occur until the 20th century.

As Olga Lang stated,

The first school for girls (in China) was founded by Catholics in 1800;....In 1905 the (Chinese) government officially recognised the need for women's education and worked out a program for girls' schools. After the Revolution of 1911 the first public schools for girls made their appearance.

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Therefore, it is true that "by accepting girls as pupils, missionaries led the way in the education of women" in China.

89

In Hong Kong, before the 20th century, the traditional Chinese education of girls in the family cannot be accurately assessed because of the slender data and paucity of figures. However, there can be no doubt that female education was widely despised. This contempt can be shown, in the writer's opinion, by referring to the following evidence:

(1) There is no evidence suggesting any vast difference between Hong Kong and mainland China in respect of female education. On the contrary, by studying the customs, regulations and genealogies in Hong Kong villages, an indication of close similarities can be found.

(2) Female education was developed in Sheung Shui as late as the early 20th century, although this area was one of the earliest villages to develop female education among the clans in the New Territories. This clearly showed the miserable development of female education.

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In accordance with the evidence, it can be argued with certainty that very few females were educated in the

New Territories prior to the 20th century under the Chinese traditional educational system. On the other hand, the work of mission schools with Chinese females in Hong Kong was obviously successful.

1.7.3 Wealth

Wealth was another factor to be considered. In Chinese traditional agricultural society, the opportunities for education depended on the family income since the poor farmers could not afford education if there was a risk of famine, hunger and starvation. Wealthy parents could either employ teachers to teach their children privately or provide them with the opportunity of attending the best available facilities, and support them financially when they pursued an academic degree. In common practice, if all the children in the family were not educated for financial reasons, the elder ones would have more opportunity than the younger.

It is worth noting that wealth did not belong only to the individual, but also to the clan or commune. Charity and clan schools were sometimes opened by clansmen or groups of people and organisations to help the poor have elementary education. In the writer's opinion, they helped to meet the financial problem relating to education in Chinese society. So, in a wealthy and well-organized traditional Chinese village, mission schools did not attract Chinese scholars easily. Initially, the mission

schools could only attract the poor.

1.7.4 Occupation

In the early days of Hong Kong, the development of Chinese education was still basically under the influence of the historical educational system of China. Inevitably it was also influenced by the economic and social activities of the people in Hong Kong. According to the demographic data for 1841,⁹¹ farmers and fishermen made up the majority of the inhabitants in Hong Kong. On Hong Kong Island, more than 75% of the original inhabitants were fishermen and most of the rest were farmers.⁹² Moreover, as the "Commemorative Stone for the building of the Feng Kong Academy", in the Capital of Hsin-an County, stated,

Its (Hsin-an County) inhabitants are farmers and fishermen, but they are not unmindful of study.

⁹³

Between 1573 A. D. and 1898 A. D., the whole or part of Hong Kong was annexed to the Hsin-an County, making up two-thirds of its area.⁹⁴ Though Hong Kong was to the south and a fair distance from the capital of the County, these few words provide a general description which applied to the whole county. However, the writer would argue that this general description was inaccurate. In Hong Kong, the description was valid only in certain areas.

Although it is difficult to provide evidence to prove

the development of the Chinese traditional study halls on Hong Kong Island, some ssu-shu (small private classes) were probably found in larger villages with a longer history. This phenomenon was due to the differences in people's occupations and cultural background as well as the size of the villages.

To the fishermen, systematic education was not essential simply because the only thing they were interested in was equipping themselves with traditional fishing knowledge, regardless of whether or not they were literate.

Unlike the situation on Hong Kong Island, in the New Territories,⁹⁵ Chinese traditional study halls, which were spread over the large agricultural plain, were regarded as ideal places to speed up the intellectual, educational and⁹⁶ cultural development because of the economic stability. The New Territories were populated by people with a traditional cultural background coming from the civilised central part of China. They worked assiduously to pursue academic degrees as they had done prior to their arrival⁹⁷ in Hong Kong. The Teng clan is a notable case.

Meanwhile, some poor people who had been destitute in their original home, came to Hong Kong to restore their⁹⁸ fortunes. They migrated to Hong Kong was to earn a living. Hence, generally, pursuing an academic degree was unrealistic because of their poverty and remoteness from the Capital. For them, education was restricted to learn

by some characters or to become literate.

With the founding of Hong Kong Island, economic development and political instability in China, a good number of transients crowded in to earn their living in the Colony. In fact, among these, a great number of immigrants from China, particularly from the Kwangtung Province, were induced to take up business or primary industries in Hong Kong.

The impact of western education as well as government policies meant that the traditional Chinese educational system had to face competition. Nevertheless, in the New Territories, the traditional system persisted for a longer time, because the New Territories were included in the Colony fifty-six years later than Hong Kong Island. As a consequence, the traditional Chinese educational atmosphere was stronger in the New Territories than on Hong Kong Island.

Moreover, in China, in the clan schools, the school calendar went from the 1st to the 12th month, with the only holidays being Chinese festivals.⁹⁹ In Hong Kong, it varied from place to place according to the occupations and custom of a certain community of people.

Economically, Hong Kong had been a place with agricultural and fishing activities. Therefore, a number of the conditions hampered pupils' schooling. During bad weather, in the rural districts, particularly after a typhoon, parents withdrew their sons from schools to help

repair the fields, houses or boats. Harvest periods were likely to close down schools because of the demand for manpower in the fields. In villages, the weddings and funerals of students' relatives usually required that children joined the ceremonies.

In the urban districts, when epidemics occurred, in accordance with Chinese custom, people fled back to their villages to escape and the schools would be forced to close down. According to the extant historical records, serious epidemics of bubonic plague, malaria, and cholera occurred in the 1840s, 1850s and the years 1884-1890, 1894-1898. In fact, epidemics had a great influence on enrolments in mission schools in this period in Hong Kong.

1.8 Comments on Chinese Education

In 1932, Dr. B. Laufer in his article "The Sino-American Points of Contact" praised the rulers in traditional China for respecting the intellectuals who could obtain official posts according to their competence. He regarded academic knowledge as the means of securing
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the progress of mankind.

On the other hand, in 1894, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Republic of China criticized China's education, which had declined in value compared with the ancient Chinese education. He made a petition to Li Hung-chang, the Governor-general of Chihli and one of the most

influential officials in the early days of China's modernization, that human talent should be fully utilized as in ancient China, by appointing people trained in different fields to the relevant posts. He therefore
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advocated innovation in the educational system.

In the light of these comments, it is clear that educational development in China was deeply affected by the achievements and drawbacks of the Chinese Imperial Examination to education.

1.9 Chinese Education in Hong Kong Between 1842 and 1905

1842 was the year when Hong Kong was founded by the Treaty of Nanking, while 1905 was the time when the Chinese Imperial Examination was abolished. In this period, two educational systems, Chinese and European, co-existed in Hong Kong.

The writer highlights two points in the educational development in this period:

(1) The control of traditional education in China was mainly in the hands of the formal organisation, i.e., the Chinese government, through the bureaucracy and the Imperial Examination. This influenced the curriculum, customs and ideology in ~~early period of~~ Hong Kong. The missionaries inherited the following traditions from China when they conducted their schools.

(a) The status of an elite was obtained in education

when a person sat for the Imperial Examination, successfully secured an academic degree and subsequently got a government post.

(b) The examination syllabus dominated the curriculum and teaching pedagogy. There was far too much concentration on the Chinese Classics, poetry etc., ignoring science, technical subjects and physical education. Hence, useful knowledge for the masses was limited in scope. Consequently, missionaries had problems of introducing Western science and technical subjects in their mission schools.

(c) Rote method of teaching was believed to be the most effective way of learning the Classics. The missionaries also found it difficult to adopt other teaching methods except rote-memory.

(d) The absence of female education in Hong Kong, due to the traditional Chinese ideology, was an obstacle to the missionaries in starting mission schools for girls. They had to adapt and change this unfavourable situation.

(2) In the early part of this period, the European educational system, introduced by the missionaries, could not compete with Chinese education although the former was fostered by the Hong Kong government and missions. Most of the mission schools adopted traditional forms of Chinese education so as to attract Chinese students. It was not until the Imperial Examination was abolished that western educational styles were gradually accepted by

Chinese parents. Yet, traditional attitudes to curriculum, learning and the like remained. Thus schools set up by Chinese clans, guilds and community groups had developed to the same extent as the mission schools by the end of this period.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

- (1) For details, refer to Book of Mencius, Book III Tang-wen-kung, Part I, Chapter IV. It wrote,

This was a subject of anxious solicitude to the sage "Shun", and he appointed "See" to be the Minister of instruction, to teach the relations of humanity -- how, between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity.
- (2) Concerning Confucius, J. Needham in his book Science and Civilisation in China (vol.II, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1956, p.3) wrote,

Khung was his family name; his given name was Chhui and his cognomen Chung-Ni, but he is always referred to by his title of honour, Khung Fu Tzu, i.e. Master Khung, whence the Latinised form Confucius.
- (3) Traditional saying: rituals, music, archery, charioteering, writing (or historical classic reading) and Mathematics were called the six arts which had been taught before the Confucian era.
- (4) Lun-yu (Conversation and Discourses of Confucius), Book XV, Chapter XXXVIII.
- (5) Confucius emphasised that character and behaviour might mainly be influenced by environment except for the cleverest and the most foolish ones. Refer to Lun-yu (Conversation and Discourses of Confucius), Book XVII Yang-ho, Chapter II and III.
- (6) The five constant virtues are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity.
- (7) Lun-yu, Book II Wei-chang, Chapter XV. It wrote, "Learning without thought is labour lost; thought without learning is perilous".
- (8) Liu Po-chi, Liu-i tung-lun (The Ancient Educational System of the Six Arts), Taipei, Chung-hua Bookstore, 1956, pp.33-41.
- (9) J. Cleverley, The Schooling of China, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1985, p.15.
- (10) P. T. Ho and T. Tsou (eds.), China in Crisis, vol.I,

Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1969, pp.14-5.

- (11) O. Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University press, 1946, p.331.
- (12) Lu Shih-i, Ssu-pien lu (Some Notes), Kiang-su Shu-chu, 1877, p.2.
- (13) O. Lang, op.cit., p.246.
- (14) Ku, Shu-shen, Chung-kuo li-tai chiao-yu chi-tao (The Educational System of China in the Past Dynasties), Nanking, Kiangsu Jen-min chu-pan-she, 1981. pp.106-13.
- (15) Lu Shih-i, op.cit., Chapter 1.
- (16) "Four Books" is the name for the following:
 - (a) Ta-hsueh (The Great Learning or the Learning of the Greatness),
 - (b) Chung-yung (Doctrine of the Mean),
 - (c) Lun-yu (Conversation and Discourses of Confucius or Confucian Analects), and
 - (d) Meng-tzu (Book of Mencius or Writing of Mencius).
- (17) "Five Classics" is the name for the following:
 - (a) Shih-ching (Book of Odes or Ancient Folkings),
 - (b) Shu-ching (Historical Classic or Book of Documents),
 - (c) I-ching (The Classic of Changes or Book of Changes),
 - (d) Li-chi (Record of Rites), and
 - (e) Chun-chiu (Spring and Autumn Annals or Records of Springs and Autumn).
- (18) Meng-kan is a book written by Li Han in the 10th century. It arranged the stories in the classics by using four characters for each with rhymes, for the easy recitation by the children.
- (19) Chien-tzu-wen is a book written in the 1st half of 6th century in the Liang Dynasty.
- (20) San-tzu-ching is a book in verses of three characters for each, intended for memorisation, produced by Wang Ying-lin (1223-1296) in the Sung Dynasty.
- (21) Pai-chia-hsing probably was written by the person surnamed Chin in the early Northern Sung Dynasty (around the 11th century).
- (22) E. S. Rawski, Education and Popular Literacy in Ching China, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan,

1979, p.45.

(23) Ibid., p.48.

(24) Chen Tung-Yuan, Chung-kuo ko-chu shih-tai chih chiao-yu (Education During the Period of the Old Examination System in China), Shih-fan hsiao-shu series, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1934, pp.49-50.

(25) E. S. Rawski, op.cit., p.48.

(26) H. D. R. Baker, A Chinese Lineage Village -- Sheung Shui, London, Frand Cass and Co., 1968, p.73.

(27) E. S. Rawski, op.cit., p.49.

(28) Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th edition, London, Helen Herningway Benton, 1982, vol.6, p.342.

(29) J. Cleverley, op.cit., p.11.

(30) I. Miyazaki (tran. by Conrad Schirokauer), China's Examination Hell: the Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China, New York, John Weatherhill, Inc., 1976, p.127.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Ibid.

(33) Among them, one was appointed to a post in 1382 by recommendation instead of by examination. In fact, there was no examination between 1373 and 1384. Accordingly appointment by recommendation was a common practice at that time. See also C. O. Hucker, "Governmental Organisation of the Ming Dynasty" in J. L. Bishop (ed.), Studies of Governmental Institutions in Chinese History, Cambridge, Mass., Havard University Press, 1968, pp.70-1.

(34) Leung Kwong-hon, A Profile of Historic Relics in the Early Stage of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Learners Bookstore, 1980, pp.30-9.

(35) I. Miyazaki, op.cit., p.128.

(36) Meng Shi-cheng et al., Chung-kuo ku-tai chiao-yu shih tzu-liao (The Materials of Education in Ancient China) Peking, Yen-wen chu-pan-shu, 1961, p.78 & p.113.

(37) Kuo Ping-wen, The Chinese System of Public Education, New York, Teachers College, Columbia

University, 1915, p.57.

- (38) Meng Shi-cheng, op.cit., p.268.
- (39) I. Miyazaki, op.cit., p.15.
- (40) Tu Yu (Comp.), Tung-tien (Source Material on Political and Social History), Facsimile of a Ming print, 2 vols, Taipei, Ta-hua shu-chu, 1978, Chapter 15 Preferment.
- (41) Teng Ssu-yu, Chung-kuo kao-shih chih-tu shih (A History of Examination System in China), Nanking, Examination Yuan, 1936, p.107.
- (42) I. Miyazaki, op.cit., p.122.
- (43) Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit., vol.6, p.342.
- (44) One who entered a government school was called a government school student (Sheng-yuan or licentiate). After that, he would have the chance to be elected to sit for the Provincial Examination.
- (45) I. Miyazaki, op.cit., pp.118-9.
- (46) Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit., vol.6, P.342.
- (47) The China Handbook Editorial Committee (tran. by Zhou Yicheng, Cai Guanping and Liu Huzhang), Education and Science, Beijing, Foreign Language Press, 1983, p.4.
- (48) Huang Tsung-hsi, Ming-i tai-fong lu (Early Ching Political and Economic Work), Peking, Ku-chi chu-pan-she, 1955.
- (49) Liang Chi-chao, Ching-tai Hsueh-shu kai-lun (General Study of Historical Scholarship during the Ching Dynasty), Shanghai, Commerical Press, 1934, p.160-1.
- (50) Ho Ping-ti, Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959, pp.227-8.
- (51) Ho Ping-ti, Chung-kuo hui-kuan shih (An Historical Survey of Landsmannschaften in China), Taipei, Hsueh-seng shu-chu, 1966, p.9.
- (52) Ibid., p.8.
- (53) H. D. R. Baker, op.cit., p.65.
- (54) Liu Po-chi, op.cit., p.14.

- (55) Leung Kwong-hon, op.cit., pp.30-59.
- (56) Ibid.
- (57) Sheng Lang-hsi, Chung-kuo shu-yuan chih-tu (Collection of material on the Chinese Shu-yuan Academy System), Shanghai, Chung-hua Bookstore, 1934, pp.153-9.
- (58) Leung Kwong-hon, op.cit., pp.33-4.
- (59) Ibid., p.34.
- (60) H. D. R. Baker, op.cit., p.73.
- (61) The Kan-yung Study Hall in Sha Tau Kok was a typical example.
- (62) Liu Po-chi, Kuang-tung shu-yuan chih-tu (History of the Shu-yuan Academies of Kwangtung Province), Taipei, Chung-hua Bookstore, 1958, p.14.
- (63) I. Miyazaki, op.cit., p.124.
- (64) Hu Shih, Pai-hua-wen-hsueh shih (A History of the Colloquial Literature of China), Part I, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1934, Chapter 1.
- (65) A place located to the northwest of Hong Kong.
- (66) J. Cleverley, op.cit., p.23.
- (67) E. S. Rawski, op.cit., p.54.
- (68) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, 2nd edition, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1973, p.229.
- (69) "Report of the Board of Education for 1863", Hong Kong Government Gazette 1864, p.46.
- (70) E. S. Rawski, op.cit., p.45.
- (71) Ibid., p.54.
- (72) Ibid.
- (73) H. D. R. Baker, op.cit., p.73.
- (74) J. Needham, op.cit., Vol.II, p.6.
- (75) Hsu Hsi-chung, Li-tai kuan-chih ping-chih ko-chu-chih shang-shi (General Knowledge in the System of the Ranks of Officials, Military Ranks and the

Imperial Examination in China), Macao, Erh-ya chu-pan-she, 1977, p.252.

- (76) Chu Pei-lien, Ching-tai ting-chia lu (Brief Biographies of Outstanding Hanlin Graduates of the Ching Period), Taipei, Chung-hua Bookstore, 1968, Chapter 1.
- (77) Refer to Ching Duan-li, "Tu-ssu fen nian yu ching" (Study Schedule) which is quoted in Chen Tung-yuan, Chung-kuo ko-chu shih-tai chih chiao-yu (Education During the Period of the Imperial Examination System in China), Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1934, pp.51-2.
- (78) J. Cleverley, op.cit., p.26.
- (79) A Chinese Proverb says, "A pair of golden lotus (small feet) costs a jar of tears". We can see the torture of foot-binding and the injustice to the female.
- (80) I. Miyazaki, op.cit., p.13.
- (81) Ibid., p.13.
- (82) J. M. Potter, Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant: Social and Economic Change in A Hong Kong Village, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1968, p.149.
- (83) Three Obediences are:
"Obedience to father before marriage, obedience to husband after marriage, and obedience to sons after the death of husband".
Four Virtues are:
"Beauty, gentleness, moral goodness, and skill in needlecraft".
- (84) CWM (Council for World Mission) Archives: South China-- Reports, Miss. Davies' Report for 1895, Hong Kong.
- (85) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Mrs. E. Wells' Report for 1904, Hong Kong.
- (86) J. M. Potter, op.cit., p.149.
- (87) Ibid.
- (88) O. Lang, op.cit., p.104.
- (89) J. Cleverley, op.cit., pp.30-1.

- (90) H. D. R. Baker, op.cit., p.77.
- (91) Hong Kong Government Gazette vol.2 (May 15, 1841).
- (92) For details, see Chapter II of this thesis.
- (93) Wang Chung-hsi et al. (comp.), Hsin-an hsien-chih (Hsin-an County Gazetteer), 1819 edition, Taipei, Cheng-wen chu-pan-she, 1974, Chapter 23, "Literary Excerpts". The quotations are translated by Peter Y.L.Ng, New Peace County, Hong Kong, H.K.U.P., 1983.
- (94) Leung Kwong-hon, op.cit., p.14.
- (95) Hong Kong today includes the parts of Hong Kong Island (ceded in 1842), Kowloon (ceded in 1860) and the New Territories (leased in 1898).
- (96) Chou Ku-cheng, Chung-kuo she-hui chih chieh-kou (Work on the Structure of Chinese Society), Shanghai, Hsin-sheng-ming shu-chu, 1930, p.13.
- (97) Leung Kwong-hon, op.cit., pp.30-9, and also Lo Hsiang-lin et al., Hong Kong and Its External Communication Before 1842, Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Culture, 1962, Chapter 9.
- (98) The immigration of the Hakka people from the early 18th Century onwards was a typical example. See Leung Kwong-hon, op.cit., p.58.
- (99) E. S. Rawski, op.cit., p.44.
- (100) See B. Laufer, "Sino-American Point of Contact", referred by Tu Cheng-hsiang (ed.), Chung-hua wen-hua jiang-i (Lectures on Chinese Culture), Chung Hwa Correspondence School, Republic of China, 1969, Lecture I, P.11.
- (101) Sun Yat-sen, Kuo-fu chuan-shu (Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen), Taipei, 5 vols, 1957, Letters, pp.1-12.

Chapter II MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN HONG KONG (1842-1859)

2.1 Government Policies

As a result of the controversy between 1833-1845¹ over religious education in England, the Secretary of State took great care over the question of religious education particularly in terms of the possible use of public funds. At the same time, the Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir James Stephen, regarded the missionary societies as the "most effective, most indispensable auxiliaries in education"² in the colonies.

The government in England allowed mission schools to develop without interference, provided that there was no political trouble in the Colony. This policy was "commonly used in the newly founded colonies for the sake of avoiding cultural clashes which might lead to political trouble"³. Under this policy, "the political strength of the Governor greatly affected the success or failure of the missionaries"⁴. Consequently, the policies adopted by individual governors were decisive in the development of education in the colonies.

Since Hong Kong was occupied "not with a view of colonisation, but for diplomatic, military and commercial purposes"⁵, the preservation of the original institutions and maintenance of political stability were aimed at by the British. In June, 1843, Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to Sir Henry Pottinger, the first Governor

of Hong Kong, stating,

It follows that methods of proceeding unknown in other British Colonies must be followed at Hong Kong.

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Besides, according to the Treaty of Nanking, the British Government was not to attempt to change the existing customs and system of Hong Kong. This meant "the laws and customs of China should supersede the laws and customs of England except where a Chinese law was repugnant to those immutable principles of morality....".⁷ Consequently, Chinese customs and laws could be maintained.⁸ For instance, the young maid (mui-tsai) and the concubinage system were repealed only as recently as 1928 and 1972 respectively. Under these circumstances, the British government did not try to make changes to the Chinese system in the first instance in Hong Kong.

As mentioned above, unlike other colonies, Hong Kong was treated as a trade station rather than a colony. Protection of British trade in the Far East was one of the main objectives of the Hong Kong Governor. As E. J. Eitel, a missionary of the London Missionary Society and Inspector of Schools from 1879 to 1897, wrote,

To begin with Captain Elliot, he seems to have recognised....that the settlement on Hong Kong must be treated rather as a station for the protection of British trade in the Far East in general than as a Colony in the ordinary sense of the word.

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In other words, the Governors of Hong Kong not only ruled Hong Kong, but also acted as plenipotentiaries in

China and as Superintendents of Trade in the Far East. They had to inspect the British work in the British consular stations in China and maintain British trade in the Far East, particularly in China. To the governors of Hong Kong, it was a heavy burden that made them have less time for the long-term planning of local affairs in the Colony.

For the above reasons, in this period (1842-1859), there was no specific policy for education in Hong Kong. In Hong Kong between 1842-1859, there were four governors, H. Pottinger (1843-44), J. Davis (1844-48), G. Bonham (1848-54) and J. Bowring (1854-59). They each had a different policy on education. The interest and beliefs of different governors of Hong Kong dominated educational development and either helped or hindered individual missions during the early period of Hong Kong when things were still very confused.

Pottinger, the first Governor of Hong Kong, became a patron of the Morrison Education Society.¹⁰ He granted the Society a piece of land in the Spring of 1842. A School was opened on the site in November, 1843. The L.M.S. also applied for a plot of land for an Anglo-Chinese College similar to that at Malacca. Pottinger refused this request on the grounds that it is superfluous to have two similar educational institutions in a small island. He criticized the "early and ill-digested measures" of the L.M.S. and thought schools and colleges

would not be needed "for many years to come".¹¹

Pottinger even decided that the Annual Allowance of \$1200 for the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca should be transferred to the School of the Morrison Education Society.

Davis, the second Governor of Hong Kong, ceased to support the Morrison Education Society as first, it had fallen entirely under American missionary influence, second, it had refused to link up with the L.M.S., and third, it took no children other than Chinese. On the other hand, the Anglo-Chinese College was granted land under Davis' rule.

This shows that different policies were adopted under different Governors.¹² As a matter of fact, the inconsistent policies precluded the development of both the School of the Morrison Education Society and the Anglo-Chinese College of the L.M.S..¹³ This more or less made the Anglo-Chinese College change to a Theological Seminary because the grant was originally for the training¹⁴ of interpreters.

In 1845, Rev. Karl Gutzlaff, a German missionary and the Chinese Secretary, put forward a plan proposing that a limited educational grant should be given to a selected number of Chinese village vernacular schools, run on traditional Chinese lines, on the grounds that "such a¹⁵ gesture would be greatly appreciated by the Chinese". It could be regarded as the first educational policy in

the newly established Colony. In the writer's opinion, this policy was adopted to avoid political trouble, which was a primary aim of British colonial policy.

Gutzlaff's plan was finally approved by Lord Grey, the Secretary of State in the United Kingdom. Approval was more or less due to the fact that before 1846 no missionary society in England had made any definite educational plans to further the development of their work in Hong Kong.¹⁶ So, the government of England prepared no plan to assist the development of mission schools. The assistance of vernacular schools was one way of providing public assistance to education by the government. In these circumstances, and with the consent of the Secretary of State, Davis gave a grant of \$10 per month to three vernacular village schools in 1847. In the same year the Education Committee was established to supervise the three schools which provided purely Chinese education. The members of the Committee were the Police Magistrate, the Registrar General and the Colonial Chaplain.

Meanwhile, Rev. V. Stanton, the Colonial Chaplain, was not permitted by Grey to obtain a grant for a school for English children, on the grounds that English parents could afford to pay fees.¹⁷ Grey had to be particularly careful to guard against the possible use of public funds in Hong Kong to support sectarian education.

These two cases reflect the attitude of the government of England and Hong Kong to the vernacular and

mission schools. Simply, they aimed not to provoke any trouble in the Colony in this very early stage of colonisation.

Although Davis stopped the grant to the School of the Morrison Education Society, he did not disapprove of religious education. One can see this from his opinion of religious education in the Government-aided village schools. In a despatch dated March 13, 1847 to the Colonial Office, Davis commended his scheme:

If these schools were eventually placed in charge of native Christian teachers, bred up by the Protestant missionaries, it would afford the most rational prospect of converting the native population of the Island.

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Under the rule of Bonham, the third Governor of Hong Kong, at first, the policy pursued by the Education Committee was "not to interfere with the traditional Chinese curriculum and method except to introduce some Christian teaching on a voluntary basis".¹⁹ Bible reading was introduced into the curriculum in 1850 and subsequently Medhurst's "San-tzu-ching" and Bishop Boone's Catechism.

In 1852, Bishop Smith of the Anglican Church became the permanent chairman of the Education Committee. Soon after, the missionaries left the Committee in protest over the government's refusal to accept the recommendation that Smith should supervise all the schools and that the government village schools should serve as feeders of St. Paul's College.²⁰ This made the government give way.²¹

Indeed, the government could do very little without the assistance of the missionaries.

In 1853, the Education Committee was strengthened by the addition of Dr. J. Legge (L.M.S.) and the Rev. M. C. Odell (Anglican Church). From that time on, the missionaries dominated the Committee. Religious interests infused all government vernacular schools. Morning prayers and Bible reading became compulsory.

The introduction of English was a central part of British policy. This policy had begun in India. Under the influence of Macaulay's Minutes,

The government decreed in 1835 that the great object of the British Government ought to be the propagation of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.²²

This kind of language policy, although it did not apply entirely to the early colonization of Hong Kong, became obvious from the period of Bonham's governorship. As Gleason pointed out,

Except for a few conscientious missionaries and a minuscule number of lay scholars, the British were wholly ignorant of Cantonese, the prevailing Hong Kong tongue, and they were loftily disinclined to learn it. The extremes to which this arrogant insularity sometimes went were demonstrated by Governor Samuel George Bonham (1848-1854), who denied promotions to those subordinates who learned Chinese: he felt that the language was injurious to the mind, robbing it of common sense.

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Bonham opposed the suggestion of the Select Committee to the House of Commons that the inhabitants of Hong Kong should learn more Chinese.

After Legge had become a member of the Education Committee in 1853, the policy of the Committee was to encourage the study of English "not only for the value of its literature but to prevent misunderstanding".²⁴ Hence, English teaching was introduced into two of the five government schools. The teachers were Chinese pupils from St. Paul's College.

Bowring (1854-59), the fourth Governor of Hong Kong, was a secularist and thought that the schools should be run by laymen.²⁵ He opposed any attempt "to wean the natives from their religious opinions or practices".²⁶

The government-assisted schools were converted into government schools in 1855.

In 1857, Bowring stopped the parliament grant of 250 pounds a year to St. Paul's College, which was run by the Church of England. The grant being for six years from the Foreign Office was made for the training of interpreters for the consular service in China.²⁷ Bowring stopped it because of the College's failure to train a single interpreter and because of its failure in the educational field. He said,

To the missionaries alone I can at present look for active assistance, and their special objects do not usually fit them for the direction of popular and general education.

²⁸
Yet, he could not do much to get rid of religious education from the curriculum of the government schools. For instance, in 1857, Legge, a supporter of secular

education, had to resign from the Committee although his plan was supported by Bowring. Rev. W. Loscheid, a German missionary and a supporter of religious education, was thus recommended by the Committee and appointed as the first Inspector of Schools.

By the end of 1859, all the teachers in government schools were nominees of the Committee and all were Christian converts.

In fact, missionaries helped in the development of government schools. In the 1850s, the missionaries (the L.M.S. and Anglican clergymen) dominated the Education Committee in Hong Kong. In many cases, when conflict arose between the Hong Kong Government and the missionaries, the government made concessions to the missionaries.

In the writer's opinion, the above conditions were the consequence of the governor's lack of able men to deal with educational policy. This was due to the fact that:

First, the financial rewards were not enough for the government to recruit appropriate officers.

Second, able administrators were unwilling to come to the Colony at that time because of the evil reputation of Hong Kong as an unhealthy and crime infested place. G. B. Endacott depicted the influence of the epidemics on the recruitment of able men by stating,

This reputation as "a haunt of fever" made it more difficult to recruit able man into the public service of the Colony.

On the one hand, neither respectable Chinese scholars nor knowledgeable Europeans would come to Hong Kong. On the other hand, there were no competent officials in the educational field. Therefore, in this period (1842-1859), the missionaries were the most appropriate people to organise education, being amongst the few educated men in Hong Kong. Hence, even Bowring, who was a secularist in education, could not change the fact that clergymen dominated the Education Committee, because of the lack of able educators and the heavy work-load of the Governor.

In conclusion, the government adopted a laissez-faire policy to mission education, neither interfering nor assisting greatly, except in the case of the whims of individual Governors. The government schools, which were dominated by missionaries, had a religious character.

2.2 Missionary Policies

During the period 1842 to 1859, the missions' main target for conversion was China, whose population was estimated to be 360,000,000.³⁰ Hong Kong was only regarded as the nearest foothold and locale for distributing and training clergymen. The policy of each missionary society will be discussed in detail later.

In addition, the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) confirmed the Protestant missionaries' decision to evangelise in China, because the rebel leaders

were reputed to be Christians (Protestants). These "Christian" leaders evangelised in mainland China. If the "Heavenly Dynasty of Taiping" could be established, there might be no obstacle to evangelism in China. Hopes for the success of evangelism in China were thus raised. During the early days of the Taiping rebellion Bishop Smith wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury informing him about the "Christian" rebels. In his letter dated May 23, 1853, Hong Kong, he wrote,

The rebel chiefs profess to believe in Protestant Christianity; declare that they are commissioned by the Almighty to spread the knowledge of the one true God.

31

What the Bishop meant to convey was that in the near future the Protestant missions would be able to evangelise freely in China.

For the above reasons, the Protestants did not regard Hong Kong as of primary importance in the 1840s and 1850s. The Anglican Church, according to the Missionary Register 1843, regarded Hong Kong as a foothold to diffuse the Gospel in China at the very beginning. It stated,

Church of England in China -- A public announcement has been made, that it is in contemplation to make an immediate effort to raise funds for planting a branch of the English Church in the new settlement at Hong Kong, with a view to provide for the effectual introduction of Christianity into the Empire of China, as well as to supply our own countrymen, who may be resident there, with the Means of Grace.

32

In 1845, Smith, later Anglican Bishop of Victoria, weighed the pros and cons of evangelising in the Treaty Ports and Hong Kong. He thought that Hong Kong was less

desirable than Amoy, Shanghai and Ningpo as a Missionary station³³ because it had many unfavourable conditions. These included an unhealthy climate, the migratory character and the poor reputation of the local population, the variety of dialects spoken, and problems of law and order.³⁴

From the Diocesan Register Records, we can find that Smith frequently visited China between 1850 and 1863 in order to boost his plans for evangelism in China.³⁵ As a result, his work in Hong Kong did not progress. After the Treaty of Tientsin, on October 18, 1858, the Bishop appealed to the Church for renewed missionary efforts in China.³⁶ In 1863, Smith, in his Annual Report to the Archbishop of Canterbury, reviewed the evangelical work of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong,

....this station (Hong Kong) has been almost abandoned by the Missionary Societies of Britain and the Unites States. During the fourteen years of my Episcopate, our great Church Societies have done little or nothing in strengthening my hand at Hong Kong.

³⁷
The L.M.S. also looked forward to the success of the Taiping Rebellion. In 1853, despite its shortage of missionaries, the L.M.S. still sent native Christians from Hong Kong to meet the Taiping rebels, to prepare the way for missionary to work among the "Christian" rebels.³⁸³⁹

Legge and J. Chalmers (Jan 26, 1853, Hong Kong) clearly stated their hope that conditions would improve,

if the rebellion, which is in progress, should issue, as we hope it will, in placing a Christian

dynasty on the throne of China, thus greatly changing the relations of missionaries to the people....

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In the first instance, the target of the L.M.S. was also China, not Hong Kong. In 1843, the missionaries of the L.M.S. insisted in proceeding northward to China as they had arranged before, in spite of Pottinger's warning that missionary work should not be established in any Chinese Treaty ports until arrangements received government sanction from England.

41

However, different opinions of Hong Kong as an evangelistic station were expressed by some L.M.S. missionaries. Dr. Lockhart wrote in his Report (Jan 13, 1842, Macao),

42

I consider Hong Kong is a desirable position for a missionary station...the Island be retained by the English.

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Legge and Dr. J. R. Morrison, the son of the first Protestant missionary in China, Dr. Robert Morrison, had different opinions on whether to move the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca to Hong Kong or to mainland China. In 1842, Legge looked anxiously towards some places to the north of Hong Kong, such as the Island of Chusan for establishing the Anglo-Chinese College.

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On May 1, 1842, Morrison wrote a letter to the L.M.S.. He analysed the situation, and stressed the advantages of Hong Kong, and hoped that the Anglo-Chinese College could be moved from Malacca to Hong Kong instead of mainland China. Later, this suggestion was actually

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accepted by the L.M.S.. However Legge persisted that missionary work in China was more important. A letter from Legge and Dr. B. Hobson (May 25, 1844, Hong Kong) justified the intention of the L.M.S. to work beyond Hong Kong. They wrote,

We are anxious to act not merely on the population of Hong Kong, but to extend our efforts to the various islands around, to the adjoining main-land and even to Canton itself....

47

The growth of Hong Kong in the years following its foundation, made a good impression on Hobson. On May 29, 1845, he wrote a letter painting this scenario and expressing his view;

.... this settlement (Hong Kong) will far exceed the hasty and prejudiced expectation of many considering the short time it has become a British settlement with many hindrances and prejudices that have existed from old residents and the Chinese, it is most wonderful to see how large a town has already been built.

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Although some missionaries of the L.M.S. had confidence in Hong Kong, they still intended to propagate the Faith beyond Hong Kong regardless of the shortage of missionaries. In 1848, the L.M.S. extended their work to Kow-loon (or Kou Lun, now Kowloon), which still belonged to China at that time although their work was not well-

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developed on Hong Kong Island.

Even in the early 1850s, Legge did not have a good impression of Hong Kong. In 1852, he criticized those who wanted to persevere in carrying on their missionary enterprises in Hong Kong, complaining of their error in doing so and declaring that their predecessors, such as

Morrison were wrong. Seeing that the merchants and the Americans had left, and many missions had moved by 1850, Legge expressed his dislike of Hong Kong as an evangelistic station. In his letter dated Nov 22, 1852, Hong Kong, he expressed regret over the past policy of the L.M.S.,

If we had the work of 1842, 43 and 44 to do again, we should not think of establishing ourselves at Hong-Kong as we have done.

50

It was not until 1856 that Legge changed his mind and felt that they should continue their work and build on the earlier foundations in Hong Kong. Prior to that year, the request to the Directors of the L.M.S. to remove the station from Hong Kong to Canton was incessantly made, because of the problems of population, dialects and the decay of commerce in Hong Kong.

In fact, few missionaries were sent by the L.M.S.. The lack of confidence of the Society in Hong Kong was clear. This can be seen in the statistics collected by Eitel (in 1873) of the number of missionaries sent by the L.M.S. in past years;

Our mission here, established not more than thirty years ago, and having had generally a staff of not more than two English missionaries and two native preachers at any one time.

54

Other Protestant work was carried on by the Rev. G. Piercy of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, who began as late as 1851 and confined himself to work with the soldiers and sailors. The headquarters of their

mission was in Canton where was its target.

Several American Missions arrived in Hong Kong in the very early 1840s, including the American Baptist Mission, the American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions, and the American Presbyterian Mission.⁵⁶ Then, they moved northwards to various stations in China. Their policies of evangelism in Hong Kong were not consistent.

The American Baptist Mission came from Macao to enter the evangelistic enterprise in Hong Kong in 1842 enjoying greater freedom under an English Protestant government.⁵⁷ At the beginning, the policy of this society was to develop its missionary work in Hong Kong. As Legge and Hobson noted (May 25, 1844, Hong Kong),

The Brethren of the (American) Baptist Board have confined their labors chiefly to Hong Kong. The Revd. Messrs Shuck, Dean, Roberts are labouring here, and have been encouraged....with tokens of success.

⁵⁸
Yet, because of the lack of missionaries and funds from the Society, the missionaries attempted to choose other cities in China. Thus, its work in Hong Kong was hampered.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) started a mission in Hong Kong in 1842. They began well and with confidence. Mr. Abeel's Journal of the American Board of Missions in 1843 described the situation,

....Hong-kong is now making the most rapid improvement: Dwellings, warehouses, roads, bridges, wharfs, and rows of native mat-shops, have appeared, as by magic. All seem inspired

with the fullest confidence that it is destined soon to become a most flourishing commercial mart.

59

Rev. E. C. Bridgman and Rev. Dyer Ball left for

60

Canton in 1845 because of a conflict with the Hong Kong

61

Governor. The removal of the missionary station to

Canton was also due to high rent in Hong Kong and the

62

comparative toleration for Christianity in Canton.

The American Presbyterian Mission also was not sure whether, or not, Hong Kong would be a suitable place for evangelism. The Missionary Register 1843 recorded that because of the unsettled state of public affairs in China, they wanted to occupy some ports near China. It was uncertain whether Hong Kong would be suitable for its purposes:

....whether Hong-Kong will be eligible, time must shew.

63

As it turned out, this Society did not do any work in Hong Kong between 1842 and 1859.

Meanwhile, Gutzlaff organised the Chinese Union in Hong Kong in 1844. He recruited young missionaries from

64

the Basel, Berlin and Rhenish Missionary Societies for training and sent them into the interior of Kwangtung

65

Province in order to distribute scriptures and spread the Christian faith. So, the initial aim of these Swiss and German Societies was to spread the Gospel in China.

The figures shown below indicate the numbers of missionaries sent out from the main Protestant Societies to Hong Kong, and the Five Treaty Ports till 1854/55:

		HK and vicinity	Canton	Amoy	Fuhchau	Ningpo	Shanghai
LMS	A	3	4	6			8
	B	2	1	4			6
CMS	A	1			3	4	5
	B	0			3	3	3
WMS	A		6				
	B		6				
ABMU	A	2	1			4	
	B	2	0			3	
APB	A		5	4		10	4
	B		4	0		7	2
ABCFM	A		9	4	7		3
	B		5	2	5		3
BMS	A	3					
	B	2					
BeMS	A	3					
	B	2					
RMS	A	3					
	B	2					

notes: A-- number of missionaries sent
B-- number of missionaries in the field

LMS-- The London Missionary Society
CMS-- The Church Missionary Society
WMS-- The English Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary Society
ABMU-- The American Baptist Missionary Union
APB-- The American Presbyterian Board
ABCFM-- The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
BMS-- The Basel Missionary Society
BeMS-- The Berlin Missionary Society
RMS-- The Rhenish Missionary Society

Source: Methodist Missionary Society Archives, no.8, China
(Canton): Box 487(1851-76), File 1851-57.

With reference to the figures listed above, it should be noted that:

(1) The missionaries recorded as working in Hong Kong and its vicinity, devoted part or most of their attention to the places outside Hong Kong.

(2) Among these major Protestant Societies evangelising the Faith in China, nearly all of them sent more missionaries to ports other than Hong Kong. Each society had its evangelistic base or bases in China, for instance,

English Missions:

L.M.S.-- Shanghai and Amoy

C.M.S.-- Shanghai and Ningpo

Eng.Wesl.Soc.-- Canton

American Missions:

A.B.M.U.-- Ningpo

Am.Pres.Board-- Ningpo

Am.B.C.F.M.-- Canton and Fuhchau

Swiss and German Missions:

Basel M.S. -- Hong Kong and Vicinity

Berlin M.S.-- Hong Kong and Vicinity

Rhenish M.S.-- Hong Kong and Vicinity

(3) Although it seems that the Swiss and German Missions confined their work to Hong Kong and its vicinity, their attention was concentrated on evangelism in Kwangtung Province, outside Hong Kong, especially among the Hakka people.

From the above evidence, it can be seen that in the period 1842 to 1859, the missions did not make much effort to evangelize in Hong Kong. They only treated Hong Kong

as a foothold to help in evangelising in China.

In the 1840s, the Roman Catholics also regarded Hong Kong as a foothold, since hundreds of Catholic missionaries went to China through Hong Kong. The Missionary Register 1847 explained the target of the Roman Catholics at the time. The following particulars are taken from the Forty-Seventh Report,

While the Church of England for a whole year seeks, and seeks in vain, for one single missionary to China, the Romanish Agent at Hong Kong negotiates for a contract with a steam Navigation Company to carry to China 100 priests within the year!

66

The original aim of establishing an ecclesiastical Prefecture in Hong Kong was to provide services for the soldiers and Catholics, because of the frequent deaths among the Catholic soldiers who contracted infectious diseases.

67

On April 22, 1841, by Papal decree, the boundaries of the ecclesiastical Prefecture of Hong Kong were set, to include a much larger area than Hong Kong Island, i.e. Hong Kong and an area of six leagues (more than 30 kilometres) around it. It is clear that from the beginning the Catholics did not want to evangelise only in Hong Kong. During the period 1842 to 1859, although the number of the Catholics grew in Hong Kong, "there were never enough priests, since most of those who came were before long called to their missions in China to which they had been assigned".

69

In comparing the Protestants with the Roman

Catholics, in ^{Terms}~~times~~ of the shortage of missionaries, the latter ~~was~~^{were} in a better situation, for they could get ⁷⁰ assistance from the Chinese priests from Macao and China where they had done evangelical work for hundreds of years and where many Chinese converts had been trained to proselytise the Chinese heathen. On the contrary, the Protestants in the 19th century were taking only the first step through the door to China.

Patterns of Operations

Generally, when the first missionary of a society arrived, he followed a common pattern to convert the heathen through schools (education), hospitals (medicine) ⁷¹ and churches (preaching).

In many of the British colonies, "local opposition ⁷² made it necessary to open a hospital first" and ⁷³ "frequently the school preceded the church".

Unlike those in most British Colonies, the missions in Hong Kong, frequently established churches first and ⁷⁴ they established schools even before starting hospitals. This can be explained with reference to the aim of the missions and the deeply-rooted tradition of the Chinese, since the Chinese would have no confidence in western education if they were not familiar with the clergy. For instance, the American Baptist Mission arrived in 1842 and ⁷⁵ built the first Christian chapel in the same year. The Roman Catholics and the Anglican Church also began to

establish churches immediately after their arrival.

Some missions established churches initially for the Europeans, including soldiers and merchants. For example, the first church of the Roman Catholics established in Hong Kong in 1843 was for the Catholic soldiers and Europeans.⁷⁶ St. John's Cathedral, the first church of the Anglican Church, which was established in 1849 was also for the English congregation.

In Hong Kong, the hospital established early by the L.M.S. was moved to Canton in 1848 because the number of Chinese patients was minimal.⁷⁷ The C.M.S. only erected clinics after the Second World War.⁷⁸ The Roman Catholic Missions established hospitals in 1852 initially for the Catholics, particularly those who had come from Goa and Philippines.⁷⁹

Because of the Chinese prejudice against Western medicine, even Chinese doctors with Western medical knowledge were not trusted by the Chinese.⁸⁰ Even as late as 1882 when Sir Kai Ho Kai, who was a medical graduate from Aberdeen University, returned to Hong Kong, Western medicine had not yet become popular.⁸¹ He practised medicine for only a short while because of lack of patients.⁸²

So, in the early period of 1842 to 1859, most of the missionary hospitals were established for the missionaries themselves,⁸³ or for the Catholic soldiers and other Christian patients.⁸⁴

2.3 The Reactions of the Chinese to Missionary Policies

During the period 1842 to 1859, the relationship between China and Britain, and the severe attitude of the Chinese emperor to the westerners in general and the missionaries in particular, were political factors which impeded the development of education in Hong Kong. After the Treaty of Nanking signed on 29 August, 1842, continual hostility between the Chinese and the British Governments made the Government of Hong Kong suspend all private and public construction in the Colony until 26 June, 1843, the date of formal validation of the Treaty. The plan of the Roman Catholics for a big complex incorporating a hospital, a school, a home for abandoned⁸⁵ children, a seminary and a church was thus postponed.

Furthermore, the Chinese mandarins prevented all⁸⁶ respectable Chinese from settling in Hong Kong, and ordered a great number of the populace to leave the Colony. In 1844, the Colonial Treasurer reported to London that,

the policy of the mandarins on the adjacent coast being to prevent all respectable Chinese from settling at Hong Kong.

⁸⁷

Meanwhile, many of the Chinese who moved in were "of the worst characters and ready to commit any atrocity"⁸⁸ (Gutzlaff's Report).

The hostility between China and the United Kingdom around 1856, made businesses close, prices rise and students flee. Legge and Chalmers (Jan 14, 1857, Hong

Kong) recorded the conditions at that time;

Many people have left Hong Kong by the order of the mandarins, who have threatened their families in case of their remaining here. Business is stopped.... In short all our operations are in a measure suspended.

89

In the letter dated Sept 27, 1858 (Hong Kong), Chalmers wrote,

About one half of the (church) members resident in Hong Kong were obliged to go home to their villages.

90

Meanwhile, the Chinese made attempts to cut off supplies of food to Hong Kong and food in Hong Kong became more expensive. The closure of schools, particularly boarding schools due to the pecuniary embarrassment, was the consequence.

91

In short, such a policy adopted in China hampered further economic development in Hong Kong. Evangelism was indirectly blocked by the financial conditions and departure of many Chinese.

Chinese parents, distrusting Western education as well as foreigners, cherished their deeply-rooted Chinese institutions. Their distrust of Western culture was a great stumbling block to the development of mission schools in Hong Kong.

The Chinese mind was obsessed by Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, which shaped their life and work. Thus, there was a conflict of customs and beliefs between the Chinese and missionaries. For example, in many cases, because of bigamy, communicants were under sentence of

excommunication. But as Eitel pointed out,

Their (Chinese) taking a second wife when the first marriage proved childless (and the) act of bigamy is considered by heathen Chinese to be a religious duty.

92

To the Chinese, taking a second wife in a childless situation was an act of filial piety, which was contrary to Christian beliefs.

According to Chinese custom, plural marriage was also a status symbol of wealth. The conflict between Chinese and Christian attitudes towards plural marriage might account for the failure of the Church to attract the

93

wealthy.

The Chinese, generally sent their sons "to be educated outside the Colony, in Canton or in their respective native villages, (and) cared little for local

94

education". The probable reasons are, first, the Imperial Examination dominated education in China, and, second, even though the parents did not insist on their children entering for Imperial academic degrees, they liked their children to have a traditional education rather than a European one. Accordingly, the mission schools did not have a satisfactory enrolment in the early decades, because of the distrust by the Chinese.

The prejudice of the Chinese against foreigners can be seen in the following instances:

Chinese workers or merchants who came to Hong Kong in order to earn their living normally left their families in their native villages. According to figures produced by

Gutzlaff, this phenomenon could be seen in 1844 in the City of Victoria, which was the most prosperous area on Hong Kong Island:

Table 1 Number of Chinese in the
City of Victoria, Hong Kong, in 1844

		Number of People
adults	men	4786
	women	253
children	boys	200
	girls	500

Source: Carl T. Smith, "The Chinese Settlement of British Hong Kong", Chung Chi Bulletin, no.48(1970), p.28.

As can be seen from Table 1, the ratio of men and women was 19:1, and that of adults and children was 6.8:1. This greater ratio of adults to children and men to women had existed for a long time as most immigrants to Hong Kong were single men or men who had their family in China. In 1859, a letter from Legge and Chalmers (Jan 13, 1859, Hong Kong) threw light on the problem,

The Chinese inhabitants are numerous but they are not stationary. The families are comparatively few.

95

In addition, Samuel Fearon, the first Registrar-General under the Registration Ordinance, issued a report on June 24, 1845, giving the following details:

Table 2 The Constitution of Chinese
 in Hong Kong in 1845

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Chinese in brick buildings	6000	960	500	7460
Chinese in boats	600	1800	1200	3600
labourers	10000			10000
Chinese in the employ of Europeans				1500

With reference to Table 2, it is clear that a majority of the immigrants from various parts of China, settled down temporarily in Hong Kong as workers, particularly in the City of Victoria. Many of them came with no family. The minority, "Chinese in boats", were the aborigines living in Hong Kong. The above figures show that the majority of children, numbering 1200, belonged to the original inhabitants who had little contact with immigrants. The small number of children was unfavourable to the development of missionary education.

However, the poor supported the mission schools for pragmatic reasons. During this period, the utilitarian Chinese in Hong Kong attended mission schools to learn sufficient English to find good jobs. To understand this attitude, one must know the composition of the residents in Hong Kong at that time. After the immigrants had grown wealthy in Hong Kong, they would return to their homes. This was the ordinary practice of the Overseas Chinese. As J. R. Commons stated,

They (the Chinese) had no desire to plan to stay abroad for long, but rather aimed to earn and save

as much as possible so that they could return to their homeland for a comfortable life. They manifested no inclination to assimilate to society and showed no interest in other people's culture or mode of living.

96

As a matter of fact, Hong Kong was a desirable place for the Chinese to settle down temporarily, because of the convenience of easy entry and exit, since it was so near to their homes. With this in view, they or their children studied in the mission schools only for the sake of getting a better chance to improve themselves. They had no intention of being converted. Some words from the book Fragrant Harbour illustrated this condition:

For many, Hong Kong was a place where work could be found, where money could be earned, where trade offered the chance of good profits. When the work had been done, the money earned, the profits gained, then the workers and the merchants could return to their homes.

97

The Missionary Register 1844 (the American Board of Missions) also stated,

The native population (in Hong Kong) are most of them labourers and mechanics, attracted by high wages, and ready to leave as soon as their employers dismiss them.

98

As Hobson analysed this problem in his letter to the Society (Nov 26, 1844, Hong Kong),

The native population is at present of a moveable character. There is a strong feeling of dislike I fear of the climate, the high house rents, the police and the English laws which they consider severe..... There appears a continual emigration going on of those who come up, but the population of China is so great that they need never fear that the settlement will be deserted.

99

From the slender knowledge and sources available to us now, there seems to have been a slow increase in

population in the 1840s.

The 1849 gold rush to California and that of 1851 to Australia induced a sudden wave of Chinese emigration abroad.¹⁰⁰ Many Chinese who had brought their children to the Colony emigrated to Malaya, Java, California and Australia, leaving their children behind for convenience.¹⁰¹ By the 1850s, a sudden increase in immigration occurred because of the Tai Ping Rebellion in China.

For political reasons, the Chinese were hostile to Westerners. The Chinese in Hong Kong treated foreigners with hostility because they had occupied the land in China by force. This view was generally held by the Chinese. As a result, poor relationships between the Chinese and the British developed. The Chinese did not trust foreigners, including the missionaries. The people of the lower social classes, due to their lack of foreign knowledge, always suspected that the missionaries were ghosts who would take their children away. The avoidance of contact between Chinese and westerners made the development of mission schools difficult.

Hostile incidents happened from time to time. In 1844, a Chinese preacher Liang A-fa wrote (May 6, 1844, Canton) that a rumour had arisen among the Chinese in Macao and Hong Kong that the English intended to subdue the hearts of the Chinese and seek the throne of China.¹⁰²

During the time of the Arrow War (1856-58), the

church in Canton was destroyed and some Christians and
clergymen were killed.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, in Hong Kong, rumours
spread that people would set fire to European
residences.¹⁰⁴ Since the missionaries were frequently
viewed as the agents of the British government, their
lives were endangered. The Cantonese "made a last united
effort"¹⁰⁵ by leaving Macao and Hong Kong and raising the
price of food to an enormous height in protest against
foreign aggression.

As for the social pressure on Chinese Christians, a
student or a convert who studied in a mission school might
be opposed by his/her family, clan or guild. In bygone
days, the clan system within traditional Chinese customs
was tight and authoritative. Anyone who opposed the rules
or customs of his clan would lose all rights in his family
and clan.¹⁰⁶ He would be boycotted and cast out by them.
Among these customs, ancestor worship was the most
salient, which was contrary to the Christian belief of
worshipping only one God. It seemed that no compromise
was possible. The Chinese could not tolerate Chinese
Christians opposing their traditions of ancestor worship.
Legge wrote about his students and their painful
experiences;

One of the members was beaten by a female relative
before he was baptised.

¹⁰⁷

Another of his students observed that,

....the fear of man and especially of my parents
has kept me silent.

¹⁰⁸

Ancestor worship was the greatest stumbling-block to the propagation of the Gospel and the expansion of Christian education. Some students were forced to withdraw from the mission schools by their older relatives. Some were isolated by their relatives or peers.

The Missionary Register 1843 indicated the repugnance expressed by the relatives of students, and students in mission schools were faced with a dilemma. It recorded,

(The students in the School of the Morrison Education Society ^{refused} ~~and refusing~~, in several instances, to act as idolaters, even when beaten by their relatives.

109

Apart from the social pressure exerted by relatives or the clan, the trade guilds also exerted some sort of social pressure on Chinese Christians. Usually, the trade guild had its patron God. When a person stopped idolatry, he would be boycotted by his guild. He could no longer find a job. In other words, he lost his means of livelihood which was a real problem both to the individual and his family. The repercussions of conversion could mean the loss of many of their valuables, including people, material and status.

Consequently, the decision to be converted or to study in a mission school needed to be considered very carefully because, frequently, "the price is too high and the sacrifice is too great". It could mean a change in a person's whole life, either favourable or unfavourable.

Moreover, traditional custom also prevented Chinese women from being evangelised. Because "Chinese women must not be seen walking in the streets if they value their respectable name", and "the gospel must literally be brought to their doors".¹¹⁰ Indeed, social pressure of this kind precluded the development of female education.

In the writer's judgement, what has been discussed so far explains why the initial evangelism was, generally, more successful among the poor in Hong Kong. There was nothing to persuade the poor to retain their original status and work. The gains, in this case, were quite clear. They could make use of the missionary societies or English knowledge in order to climb up the social ladder or have a better life. However, from the standpoint of the missions, evangelism of the poor brought additional problems. Chalmers in Canton wrote,

We find it necessary to be cautious in receiving them (the poor Chinese) because many look to us for some pecuniary help or other worldly advantage.

111

2.4 The Aims and Policies of Missionary Education in Hong Kong

During the period 1842 to 1859, the chief aim of missionary education for both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants was to spread Faith in God. The policies of education were mainly to train native ministers and introduce religion.

It has been shown earlier that the Catholic and Protestant Missions regarded Hong Kong as a depot for distributing missionaries to China.¹¹² Hence, to train Chinese clergymen in order to develop faith in God in China was one way to fulfill the aim of evangelism.

On their immediate arrival, the establishment of seminaries for training Chinese clergymen by the L.M.S., the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics was crucial, especially for the Protestant Missions. This was because the Protestant missionaries had previously no opportunity to reside in what became known as the Treaty Ports in China. Thus, they knew nothing about the attitude of the Chinese officials towards the Protestant missionaries before the Treaty of Nanking. Moreover, China did not welcome missionary effort nor did she admit foreigners readily.¹¹³ So the missions, particularly the Protestant, intended to train native clergymen in Hong Kong under the protection of the United Kingdom in order to distribute them to China for evangelical purposes.

In 1849, the Diocese of Victoria was established in Hong Kong comprising the area of Hong Kong, China and Japan.¹¹⁴ The aim of the establishment of St. Paul's College¹¹⁵ in 1849 was to train native clergymen and Christian teachers for the propagation of the Gospel in China.¹¹⁶ This was laid down in its original statutes. As G. B. Endacott pointed out the aims of the Anglican Church in establishing St. Paul's College were,

the training of a body of native clergy and Christian teachers for the propagation of the Gospel in China, according to the principles of the Church of England; and also the education of any who might be expected ultimately to aid in the diffusion of Christian principles among the Chinese.

117

So the St. Paul's College was intended to be "a centre of Christian training and education for future Chinese church leaders".

118

As for the Anglo-Chinese College of the L.M.S., The Missionary Register 1845 stated the principal reason for the conversion of the Anglo-Chinese College into a Theological Seminary as,

....principally for the purpose of training a Native Ministry for China.....the two institutions (The Morrison Education Society and the Theological Seminary) willexercise an important influence among the people of China.

119

Because of many different dialects in China (even though people live in the same province, they may speak different dialects.), when the Anglo-Chinese College of the L.M.S. was converted into a seminary, Mandarin, the Chinese official language, was mainly spoken in the Institution. This indicates that the evangelistic area they considered would be in China, not Hong Kong.

120

The Roman Catholics set up the Seminary for Chinese Clergy in 1843. At first, the majority of the Chinese Catholic students came from different ecclesiastical prefectures in China. After training as clergymen, they went back to their original places in China to evangelise.

121

The aim of the Seminary was plain to see.

For the American Baptist Mission, a theological class was temporarily formed in Hong Kong in 1845 in connection with the Tiechiu Branch (Chao-chou speaking) of the Mission.¹²² Their aim of training clergymen to spread the Faith of God in China was palpable.

So, from the very early beginning, it was true that the missions regarded Hong Kong as the centre of Christian training and education for future Chinese Church leaders.

The introduction of religion was another policy of mission education during 1842-1859. This bears out the saying: "evangelism always entails education".¹²³ This, basically, involved the training of Bible teachers or native ministers, and nurses and doctors to staff the growing mission hospitals. They had to have at least an average general education.

In the very beginning of the colonisation of Hong Kong, the Protestant Missions were eager to convert people through education. One of the reasons was that there were comparatively few Chinese converts in Hong Kong because of its short history compared with the Roman Catholic Missions in China.

In the letter (August 18, 1843, Hong Kong) sent by the missionaries of the L.M.S. in Hong Kong, to Pottinger, concerning the aim of the Anglo-Chinese College, they wrote,

....the original and unalterable objects of the A. C. (Anglo-Chinese) College are twofold, "the reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and English

Literature and the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; the former being carried on with a view to the promotion of the latter".

124

American missions, in contrast, stressed the aim of converting pupils in their elementary schools. This was clearly pointed out by the missionaries. For instance, Bridgman, a famous missionary of the American Board for Commissioners of Foreign Missions, reported the result of the meeting held on July 15, 1843 at Hong Kong;

Primary schools should be supported at each of the principal stations as there are means at command: the first, second, and third objects of these schools to be the conversion of the pupils.

125

The aim of the mission schools established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1844 was to preach the Gospel. According to the Missionary Register 1845, the aim of this mission was clear:

Our first and chief object is to imbue their minds with the spirit of the Gospel. The whole course of instruction is shaped with reference to this end.

126

Even in 1855, the American Baptist Mission still insisted that its six schools in Hong Kong and vicinity were not to teach English nor Western Science, but religion. The Missionary Register recorded,

The schools are strictly Christian Schools. Their object is not to teach English, nor Western Science, but religion. The teachers are Christians, the books used are Christian, and the whole influence used is designed to win the pupils from Heathenism to Christianity.

127

As a matter of fact, all the Protestant missions hoped ultimately to aid in the diffusion of Christianity

128
among the Chinese. As Legge wrote in 1852 (July 22, 1852, Hong Kong),

....when pupils have really become pious, then carry on their education so as best to fit them to be evangelists and preachers among their countrymen.

129
Unlike the Protestants, Mgr. Antonio Feliciani, the prefect Apostolic in Hong Kong during 1842-1855, held the view that "it was not sound mission policy to employ men and consume resources in the maintenance of schools, since this was not the most fruitful means of making
130 conversions".

Despite the fact that the Roman Catholics occupied
131 Hong Kong and made it their headquarters, and as the Missionary Register 1843 recorded, "French Catholics had
132 secured land for a House, Chapel and College", the educational policy of the Roman Catholics, in the 1840s and 1850s, was to provide European education mainly for Catholics who were mostly from Portugal and other European countries. For instance, in 1855, there were five schools set up by the Roman Catholic Missions: one for the English, one for the Portuguese, one for training Chinese clergymen and only two, which had very small enrolment, for the Chinese.

Another policy of their educational work was to fulfil commercial and vocational needs. Accordingly English education was important to the Roman Catholics. As Eitel wrote,

The Roman Catholic Missions, seeking on the quiet the support of government rather than of the public, continued the even tenor of their way. They started several small schools which gave to Portuguese youths an elementary English education and thus commenced the work which eventually filled commercial and government offices with Portuguese clerks.

133

In the writer's opinion, the adoption of these policies for these early Catholic schools was principally due to the fact that the majority of the Catholics in the Colony, were Europeans or Portuguese. According to the view that Catholic education had to be provided for the Catholics, the Roman Catholics, suffering from a shortage of missionaries and resources, chose the way of fulfilling the needs of society and of their own church members by teaching English.

2.5 Development of Mission Schools in Hong Kong

2.5.1 General Development of Various Missions

Both the Protestants and Roman Catholics established evangelical stations soon after the founding of Hong Kong.

In 1842, the School of the Morrison Education Society moved to Hong Kong from Macao. Rev S. R. Brown was the principal who came from the United States. It was closed in 1849 because of the lack of supporters from the American missions, most of whom had moved to the five
134
newly-opened treaty ports.

In 1843, the L.M.S. moved the Anglo-Chinese College

from Malacca to Hong Kong. The College was used as school, chapel and printing place. Then it was changed to a Theological Seminary for training Chinese clergymen. In 1850, Legge experimented with boarders, who, for financial reason, had to pay for their fees. Yet, this was disbanded in 1856 due to financial difficulties. A girls' school was started by the L.M.S. in 1846, and Mrs. Chalmers took over it after Mrs. Legge's death. The school was closed when Mrs. Chalmers left Hong Kong in 1857.

In 1845, Stanton, the Colonial Chaplain of the Anglican Church, set up a school for English children, but it was closed in 1853. In 1850, the St. Paul's College of the Anglican Church¹³⁵ was opened to train native clergy and Christian teachers for the propagation of the Gospel in China.

Rev. Roberts, Rev. Shuck and Rev. Dean of the American Baptist Mission arrived in Hong Kong in 1842, and opened chapels and two schools (one boarding school). In 1844 and 1845, Roberts, Shuck and Dr. Devan moved to Canton after Mrs. Shuck's Death. The educational work of this mission was interrupted. Dean remained at Hong Kong and worked among Chao-chou speakers. Later Rev. J. W. Johnson arrived and his wife opened a girls' school in¹³⁶ 1851.

Rev. Bridgman and Rev. Ball of the American Board Missions opened an elementary school, with six pupils in

137
1844. But in 1845 they moved to Canton and the school in Hong Kong were closed.

Rev. Theodore Hamberg and Rev. Rudolph Lechler of the Basel Missionary Society arrived in Hong Kong from Switzerland in 1847. Their work in China was not desirable. Four years later, in 1851, they once opened a chapel and school in Hong Kong for Hakka people. 138

The missionaries of the Rhenish and the Berlin Missionary Societies arrived in Hong Kong from Germany in 1847 and 1851 respectively. They spread the gospel in Kwangtung province.

As far as the Catholic Missions were concerned, as the Missionary Register 1843 stated,

Six separate sites for building have already been secured on Hong-Kong by the Papal Missionaries; and their buildings are going up rapidly. 139

The Catholics started giving the Portuguese youths an elementary English education preparing them to take up commercial and government clerical work. It is worth noting that Catholic education was mainly confined to the Catholics at that early stage.

The Roman Catholics were still in a more advantageous situation to spread religion than the Protestants. They were helped by the great number of Catholic Irish soldiers in the Colony, the Portuguese Catholics (coming from Macao) and Chinese Catholics (coming into Hong Kong from the adjacent districts in China). In 1843, it was estimated that 925 Catholics were living in the Colony

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made up entirely of these groups.

In 1843, Feliciani appealed to La Salle Brothers,
{The Brothers of the Christian Schools}, asking for more
money for educational work. The appeal was not accepted
on account of the fact that "there were many other similar
requests with which they could not comply, and many of
them were from centres of much greater importance than
Hong Kong was at that time".¹⁴¹ Despite Feliciani's
appeal for more money for education work in Hong Kong, he
had not much faith in the future of Hong Kong and was
always anxious to go on to his mission in the north.¹⁴²

In 1857, Mgr. Ambrosi tried to overcome the argument
of the relative unimportance of Hong Kong by planning a
large boarding school which would also attract pupils from
Macao and Philippines, but no men had been sent from other
places to take charge of it.¹⁴³

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics also concentrated
their work more on looking after the orphans and abandoned
girls. The French Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres, first
came in September, 1848,¹⁴⁴ specifically to look after
these children and when their numbers increased, they were
able to add regular school work to their care of the sick
and helpless.¹⁴⁵ From 1848-1854, 1360 children were
accommodated.¹⁴⁶ In L'Asile de la St. Enfance, abandoned
children (mainly girls)¹⁴⁷ and orphans were cared for;
half of them were blind. An elementary school for these
children, and also an industrial school were established

at a later stage.

The Roman Catholics therefore put a great deal of effort into vocational training, the care of abandoned children and orphans, and English teaching for commercial purposes which developed very well. Except the orphans, people they took care of were mainly Catholics who might, especially in the initial decades, be Portuguese coming from Macao, Filipinos and Irish soldiers. In short, Catholic education at first catered for the English and Portuguese speakers.

2.5.2 Problems Affecting the Development of Mission Schools

Apart from the shortage of priests, and financial problems, there were many other problems in the early founding years. These problems hindered the missionary development in Hong Kong.

2.5.2.1 Range of Work to be Carried Out

The missionaries, apart from the educational work, generally had much other work to undertake. Among this, officiating at the services for Europeans, learning native dialects, visiting prisoners, translating the Bible, printing and medical work, were all regarded as pressing.

From the letter of Rev. Stanton, the first Chaplain from England, written to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge asking for financial aid, it can be

seen that their initial work included building a large church and a school, printing Bibles and tracts in the Chinese language, and the society's publications.¹⁴⁹

2.5.2.2 Language Learning

The complexity of dialects in China, made it difficult for the missionaries to adapt in terms of pronunciation if they moved from one place to another. The dialects in the five Treaty Ports were different from that in Hong Kong. This limited their reciprocal assistance if one station was short of missionaries.

Though some missionaries found it very hard to learn one dialect, they found it even more difficult to learn others. They spent much time and energy on language learning which limited their missionary endeavour.

A letter from Legge and Hobson (Feb 1, 1845, Hong Kong) commented on the assiduous work of missionaries in learning the dialects in different ports. As for himself,

Much of Dr. Legge's time was devoted to the study of the Canton dialect and to teaching.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the Chinese written language was different from the majority of the spoken dialects. To study the language, much hard work and great effort were required. This language problem encountered by the missionaries, was brought up again by Chalmers as late as 1891.¹⁵⁰
¹⁵¹

In fact, during this period (1842-1859), missionaries did not learn the native language in a systematic way.

They resorted to different Chinese teachers who employed various methods.

Roman Catholics priests would be required to learn more languages when they arrived in Hong Kong i.e. English, Portugese and Chinese, other than their own language(s) (usually Italian, or French) because by then many Catholics in Hong Kong were Portugese or English speakers.

2.5.2.3 Conflict between Missions and Missionaries

Some missionaries came into conflict because of their personal character and self-interest. One instance, in 1848-51, was the collision between Gutzlaff and the members of the L.M.S., viz., Cleland and Legge.¹⁵² In 1853, another conflict occurred between Dr. Hirschberg and Legge of the L.M.S., and the former was sent to Amoy as a consequence.¹⁵³ The conflict between missionaries directly hampered the progress of evangelism and mission schools.

2.5.2.4 Problems of Adaptation

Missionaries faced problems of adaptation, since the environment in Hong Kong was very different from what they experienced at home. Some missionaries did not adapt to the climate in Hong Kong. Some could not tolerate the local people's behaviour and the scorn poured upon foreigners which made them feel rejected.

In 1850, Legge noted (Oct 30, 1850, Hong Kong) that Cleland and his family sailed for England because of their failure to adapt to conditions in China and Hong Kong.¹⁵⁴ Cleland returned home because of his bad relation with the Chinese and the difficulty of learning the language.

2.5.2.5 The Self Interests of Missionaries

The missionaries' own characters and interests or works had a crucial impact on proselytism and education. Many cases can be quoted, for example, Bridgman and Parker were "engaged in assisting the American Embassy in the capacity of Interpreters" in the 1840s.¹⁵⁵ Legge, from the 1850s, devoted more time to Chinese Classic translation and became the Professor of the Department of Chinese in the University of Oxford after his resignation in 1867. Eitel, after 16 years' services in the L.M.S. was appointed as the Inspector of Schools in Hong Kong.

2.5.2.6 Sanitary Problem — Epidemics

Epidemics occurred frequently after Hong Kong was founded. This was the consequence of the poor hygienic conditions and the proliferation of the population. Some serious instances are recorded:

In 1843, when an epidemic occurred, 24% of the troops and 10% of European civilians died. On average each soldier was hospitalised more than five times.¹⁵⁶

The unhealthy circumstances caused not only the death

of the Chinese, but also the death of the missionaries and their family members. There are many cases which were mentioned in the missionary records, for examples,

(1) Rev. Shuck (the first missionary sent to China by the American Baptist Mission) lost his first and second wife¹⁵⁷ between 1844-1851 in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

(2) Mrs. Dyer Ball (American Board of Missions, died in 1844), Mrs. William Dean (American Baptist), and Mrs. T. T. Devan (Amercian Baptist, died in 1845)¹⁵⁸ all died shortly after their arrival.

(3) Legge's (L.M.S.) wife and four of his six children¹⁵⁹ died of fever in 1852.

(4) The wife of Rev. William Lobscheid (Chinese Evangelization Society — came out under the Rhenish Missionary Society)¹⁶⁰ died in 1854 only a few years' after her arrival.

A Protestant Mission statistics in China in 1855¹⁶¹ prepared by S. Wells William in Canton indicated this lamentable situation.

Table 3 The Number of Missionaries
 Sent to China Between 1807-1855

	No.	% Out of Total
Total	188	100%
retired	60	32%
death of male missionaries	32	17%
death of female missionaries (wives of 132 married missionaries)	37	27%

Source: Methodist Missionary Society Archives: China
(Canton)-- Box 487, File 1851 57.

While these figures cover the whole region, in comparison with the five Treaty Ports in China, the sanitary conditions in the early years of Hong Kong, were much worse and were the main cause of the missionaries' death and ill-health.

The death of the family members of the Protestant Missionaries made the missionaries return to their home countries or change their working places. For example, Hobson temporarily left for England in 1845, due to his wife's illness. Legge left Hong Kong from 1845-48 due to sickness.¹⁶² Mr. Gillispie resigned and returned to Scotland because of his wife's ill-health in 1850.¹⁶³

As William wrote (July 1, 1855, Canton),

60 have retired, the most of them on account of their own ill health, or that of their family.¹⁶⁴

So, about half of the missionaries (retired and dead) were precluded from continuing their work because of this awful sanitary problem. In fact, their period of stay in Hong Kong was generally very short in the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁶⁵ Therefore the progress, policies and manpower of the missions fluctuated and coherent policies could not be followed.

Among the Roman Catholic priests in the 1840s and 1850s, many died around 30 years of age, and they seldom reached 45 because of the unhealthy conditions and their

heavy work-load. Their deaths meant the loss of man-power in religion and education because they were scholars who principally carried out the work of evangelism and teaching.

Furthermore, many native teachers died during the epidemic years. The death of teachers sometimes meant the closure of schools because other qualified teachers were not easily found.

2.5.2.7 Population Fluctuation

As mentioned earlier, fluctuations in the population of Hong Kong were an impediment to the development of evangelism, especially in mission schools. The quasi-transients posed mission schools with a big problem, because when they moved away, enrolment dropped.

In the missionary records of the L.M.S., the influence of the gold rush was revealed as early as 1852,

The effect which is being provided on China by the gold of California is most astonishing. War, commerce, and the gospel have not spurred the people as this time El-dorado has done. Many thousands have hastened across the Pacific to the wonderful region, and as almost every ship that arrives from San Francisco brings back parties made rich by the labour of a short time, the excitement is constantly increasing.

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Legge also commented on its influence on education by writing (March 24, 1853, Hong Kong),

Young men had gone to it (California) from the school.

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The scholars not only went out from school to find gold or work abroad, but also worked as interpreters

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because of the high pay.

According to Legge's letter, some of the salaries were "\$100 a month, or £250 a year" as high as "the salary¹⁶⁹ of a married missionary". The need for interpreters from the school to accompany the emigrating Chinese coolies, undermined the enrolment of the mission schools.

Under these circumstances, those Chinese who attended mission schools for utilitarian reasons would not stay long. This seriously hampered the development of mission schools.

2.5.3 The Number of Schools and Students

The number of mission schools varied from time to time. The American Board of Missions disbanded their work in Hong Kong in 1845. The American Baptist Mission had 6 schools (4 for boys and 2 for girls) with 75 scholars in¹⁷⁰ Hong Kong and its four outstations in 1854. Of these, only two, with a minimal number of pupils, were in Hong Kong in the same year. The L.M.S. stopped its educational work after the closure of its Seminary and Preparatory School which accommodated 40 students in 1856. In 1859, the Anglican Church ran only one schools for the Chinese and the non-Chinese. The Basel Missionary Society had a¹⁷¹ school for Christian converts in the 1850s.

Towards the end of this period the Roman Catholic Mission ran two schools for the Chinese, including one

Orphanage for abandoned Chinese girls, at L'Asile de la
St. Enfance, as well as several schools for non-
Chinese.
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2.5.4 Administration

In the period of 1842 to 1859, the Protestant missionaries came mainly from England, U.S.A., Switzerland and Germany. Their policies and plans were made separately, but occasionally with mutual exchange of ideas. The Church Authorities in England, U.S.A., Switzerland and Germany worked through different missionary bodies for formulating policies for their missionaries in Hong Kong.

The overseas missions in Hong Kong adopted the Church policy of their Home countries. Thus there was the Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, of the Church of England (whose Diocese included the whole of China and Japan as well as Hong Kong), and committees formed by each of the following missions: L.M.S., American Baptist Mission, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Basel Missionary Society and Berlin Missionary Society in Hong Kong and the vicinity. The committee members and teachers in the mission schools in Hong Kong implemented the policies adopted at their meetings.

The Pope and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide) of Italy, the official church body in charge of the Missions, formulated the

policy of the Roman catholic Mission. The Prefect Apostolic of Hong Kong then adopted the policy. He was in charge of the Apostolic Prefecture of Hong Kong which was set up on April 22, 1841, and included Hong Kong and an area of six leagues around it.¹⁷³ Other priests who came from France, Italy, Macao, China (Chinese priests) and the teachers implemented the policy.

2.5.5 Finance

The pecuniary problems related to education faced by the missionary societies were frequently aggravated by the need for extensive repairs to buildings, the reconstruction of premises, the payment of high rents, and the need to meet teachers' demands. The situation of the Protestant missions was made worse by the absence of government grants and assistance from the missionary societies at home.

General Unfavourable Conditions

Due to the decline in economic development which was followed by a fall in land value and comparatively high rentals and taxes, the self-supporting principle of the British government could not operate effectively in Hong Kong during the 1840s and the first half of the 1850s. The Government of Hong Kong received instructions from the Colonial Office to cut back on expenditure. In addition, the limited parliamentary grant was gradually

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reduced by Britain. Not until 1855 did Hong Kong become self-supporting for the first time. The government's financial situation gradually improved thereafter.

Unfortunately, in this period (1842-1859), apart from education, much work needed to be done urgently. This included the improvement of hygiene, the maintenance of law and order and social construction.¹⁷⁵

From the Annual Reports submitted by the Colonial Treasury, Hong Kong, the Education Expenditure out of the total expenditure for 1853-1859 was as follows:

Year	% Out of Total
1853	0.30
1854	0.36
1855	0.34
1856	0.45
1857	0.59
1858	1.09
1859	1.11

Source: Figures compiled from the statistics given in the reports on the Hong Kong Blue Books, 1853-59 submitted by the Colonial Secretary.

That very little public money was allocated for education is clear. In 1854, Bowring, the fourth Governor wrote home stating,

It is quite monstrous to see a charge of £8620 for police contrasted with an expenditure of £120 for the instruction of the people.

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Moreover, as mentioned in the section on government policy in this chapter, at that time, a heated debate on religious education was taking place in England. Therefore, "no governor, nor even the Secretary of State, dared risk censure in parliament by sanctioning the use of public funds to support sectarian education".¹⁷⁷ Only a small parliamentary grant was given to the St. Paul's College of the Anglican Church for the training of interpreters for the government.

2.5.5.1 Financial Support From Home Societies

As mentioned earlier, the missions in Hong Kong faced financial problems, because of the limited support from their own Societies at home and from the local people.

In general, funds from the missionary societies was allocated to the Treaty Ports or other interior cities rather than to Hong Kong. This was because Hong Kong was regarded only as a foothold to China. Yet, however small the amount of money given by their Home Countries was, it did help to start missionary evangelical work.

Unfortunately, living expenses in Hong Kong were much greater than those at any other station on the coast of China. This was made explicit in 1846 in a letter written by Gillespie.¹⁷⁸ In addition, rents were high.¹⁷⁹ The rise in living expenses might be an indication of the palmy days in Hong Kong. Yet, the rise in the cost of living might also have been due to the boycott initiated

by the Cantonese or the outbreak of riots in China, particularly during the late 1850s. In 1856, Legge and Chalmers wrote from Hong Kong,

....for 5 months the prevalence of rebellion throughout Canton Province caused the prices of rice and fire wood to rise to an unexampled height.

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Likewise, the exchange rate of the (Hong Kong) dollar rose steadily during the first decades. From the letters of the L.M.S. missionaries, it is clear that the exchange rate of the silver dollar rose between 1842 and 1851, from 4s.2d. to 5s.2d..¹⁸¹ In consequence, the funds from the societies, dwindled. These unfavourable conditions certainly influenced the progress of missionary education.

2.5.5.2 Other Missionary Sources of Financial Help

Apart from securing funds from their own societies or other Societies, the missionaries frequently used their own salaries or relied on contributions from their friends at Home or from the European commercial companies in Hong Kong. As a matter of fact, some missionaries earned money for evangelical work from other work. For instance, Shuck, the first missionary of the American Baptist Mission in China, worked as a joint-editor of "Friend of China" in Hong Kong in order to earn money to help¹⁸² evangelical work.

Subscriptions from overseas friends or church members, were usually paid as lump sums. For example, in 1849, Edmund Sharp and his sister Lady Smart gave £25,000

to the Bishopric and St. Paul's College.¹⁸³ Yet, such funds could not be relied upon as a steady source of income.

Missions, particularly the C.M.S. of the Anglican Church, got help in the form of books for scholars¹⁸⁴ or subscriptions from other missions. A donation of £2000 was received from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to complete all the buildings¹⁸⁵ of St. Paul's College.

With regard to the Roman Catholics, the Canossian Sisters and their orphanage secured a donation from their Society in Europe with effect from 1845.¹⁸⁶

2.5.5.3 Fund Raising Abroad

The C.M.S. was more successful in raising money abroad than the other Protestant missions. It obtained a good deal of financial support from English merchants at home, particularly in the period of 1842 to 1859. Grants were made for the building of St. John's Cathedral and St. Paul's College in the late 1840s.

Compared with the Protestant Missions, the Roman Catholic mission was in a better position since they could raise money from people in nearby Macao, the Philippines and adjacent areas.

When pressed, the missionaries would travel abroad on fund raising missions. In the history of the Roman Catholics, priests commonly went abroad and raised a large

amount of money to build or reconstruct schools. For instance, before they moved to Hong Kong, Fr. Theodore Joset raised considerable amounts of money from Macao for the purpose of building a complex in 1842.¹⁸⁷ Another larger church was set up in 1843 with financial support from soldiers and Europeans (mainly Portuguese and English) in Hong Kong, and also funds secured by Fr. Navarro from Manila.¹⁸⁸ However, these fund raising activities interfered with evangelical work, and directed some effort away from it.

2.5.5.4 Financial Help from Merchants and the Sale of Properties

Some mission schools were under the auspices of English merchants. For example, Dent & Co. which was a famous firm gave financial support to St. Paul's College and the Morrison Education Society. In the 1850s, opinions were expressed by people in commercial fields, suggesting that the missionary societies were not performing satisfactorily. The mercantile public became severe critics of the missionaries.¹⁸⁹ The merchants were sceptical about the morality of students who were educated in mission schools for they frequently broke the law. In these cases, the merchants became a stumbling block to the progress of Christianity rather than the patrons of the mission schools.

The selling of property was a source of finance for

establishing and running schools in the Colony. The Anglo-Chinese College of the L.M.S. is an example. Property in Malacca and Singapore was sold in order to obtain more money to establish and run the College in Hong Kong.¹⁹⁰

2.5.5.5 School Fees

Collecting school fees from European parents was a financial source for mission^o schools. In fact, no free education for European children was provided by the Roman Catholics in 1858.¹⁹¹

If Chinese scholars came to learn English so that they could work in the commercial field, a small school fee was charged. This was an important source of income. Parents or friends were willing to pay the fee because they understood that their children would benefit from learning English.

In the Preparatory School of the Anglo-Chinese College, students were received on an agreement that their friends should pay \$2 monthly for them and Legge and Chalmers (Jan 8, 1856, Hong Kong) wrote,

The boy thus received are for the most part of a highly respectable class of society.

¹⁹²
Again, this was not a constant source of income since the parents could not always afford it. The dissolution¹⁹³ of the College was a consequence of the rise in costs.

Yet, the Chinese people were generally poor,

especially in the early days of the Colony. They could not afford to pay school fees, as Legge and Chalmers found in their boarding school in 1853. Despite the fact that tuition expenses were met by the society, the parents could not even carry out their obligation to provide the boarders' costs. So Legge and Chalmers stated,

The subscriptions to it (the school) obtained here are very small.

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2.5.5.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Roman Catholics got a lot of help outside Hong Kong. In 1845, an annual grant of 14,000 and 8,000 French francs, were sent to the ecclesiastical prefecture and Canossian Sisters respectively from France.

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As Bridgman, a missionary of the American Board of Missions wrote in 1844, about the erection of the Roman Catholic head-quarters in Hong Kong,

On these two (a large-three storied house and a large church) alone they will expend about 20,000 dollars. They shame us.

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The above words show the great contrast between the financial situation of the Roman Catholics and the Protestants.

2.5.6 Curriculum of Mission Schools

During the period 1842 to 1859, no subjects were compulsorily imposed by the government, since the educational system was still not well established. The government schools implemented the policy, adopted by the Education Committee, which was not to interfere with the traditional Chinese curriculum and methods of teaching. In other words, the traditional Chinese educational style, including teaching method with which the teacher was familiar, continued to exist.

The Chinese appreciated the traditional Chinese education both in curriculum and teaching method. So the existence of Chinese Classics in whatever schools, i.e. vernacular village schools or Anglo-Chinese Schools, guaranteed high enrolment. English, as a subject within the curriculum was favoured only by a few Chinese in accordance with their view of the practical use of learning. The decrease in the number of mission schools¹⁹⁷ could be explained by this fact.

With regard to the curriculum of mission schools, this varied considerably according to, (a) the period of time, (b) the level of the school, (c) whether the school was a boarding or day school, and (d) whether the school was for boys or girls. Under these circumstances, the writer will not attempt to set out the curriculum of each school. Instead, a panoramic view will be given.

2.5.6.1 Common Core Subjects

Generally speaking, the scriptures and Chinese were the common core curriculum in most of the mission schools for the natives. However, in some of the distant mission schools, these two subjects were the only ones students would learn.¹⁹⁸ In order to help beginners to study the Chinese language, the missionaries wrote and used simple books on Chinese Classics. For instance, Williams' "Easy Lessons in Chinese" (304 pages) was one of the texts used¹⁹⁹ in the School of the Morrison Education Society. The traditional Chinese Primers for beginners and Classics were also taught in various mission schools. Some mission schools, for example, the Preparatory School and the Theological Seminary of the L.M.S., emphasized the translation between English and Chinese. Therefore, Chinese language and literature formed part of the required curriculum. In the Theological Seminary of the L.M.S., one of the conditions of the admission was, as Legge wrote (Jan 29, 1850, Hong Kong),

The boys must have attended a Chinese scholar at least 3 years before we receive them.²⁰⁰

The Scriptures were included in the curriculum because these were mission schools. Obviously, this is related to the major aim of mission schools, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Some examples of the curriculum in mission schools are given below in order to depict the general outline of elementary education. With the intention of giving a

general picture, these data are not presented in great detail.

Year	Name of Missionary Society	No. of Schools	Subject	Source
1844	L.M.S.	2	Chinese Classics New Testament English	(1)
1844	Roman Catholics	1	Chinese Language Reading Writing	(1)
1844	American Board of Foreign Missions	1	Chinese English History Geography	(2)
1847	Morrison Education Society	1	Chinese English Arithmetic Geography	(3)

Sources:

- (1) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., pp.141-2.
- (2) Chinese Repository, Sept., 1844.
- (3) Chinese Repository, Jan., 1847 and also Yung Wing, My Life in China and America, New York, Arno Press, 1978, p.13.

2.5.6.2 Other Subjects

Other subjects such as History, Geography, and Arithmetic were commonly taught. In some schools for higher education, for example the Anglo-Chinese College, Astronomy, Algebra, Mathematics, Geometry, Physics, Music, and Drawing were introduced for a trial period. The teaching of scriptures, science and literature was

intended to lead pupils on to the formation of an elevated
Christian character.²⁰² Yet, these subjects were not
commonly taught in other mission schools as part of
elementary education.

Furthermore, whether or not these subjects were
taught depended on the expertise of the missionaries
available. For example, when Chalmers arrived in Hong
Kong on Jan 28, 1852, "he had been placed in charge of
mathematical training of the senior class of pupils in the
Boarding School".²⁰³

2.5.6.3 Medium of Instruction

Teaching "in their (the natives') own language" was
the policy followed by most of the missions.²⁰⁴ Even in
St. Paul's College, Hong Kong, teaching in the mother-
tongue was maintained and recorded in the Missionary
Register 1852,

....it was thought advisable from the first to
conduct the school wholly in Chinese -- even to
teach arithmetic and algebra in Chinese
characters. This system has appeared to Dr.
Moncrieff (the teacher in the St. Paul's College)
to answer, in the greater progress made by the
boys and in the exercising of their mind. English
is still taught to the more advanced pupils....

²⁰⁵
The students were Chinese, so the medium of
instruction was mainly Chinese. Since the Anglo-Chinese
College of the L.M.S. provided theological education which
aimed at spreading the Gospel in China, Mandarin was made
the major medium of instruction.²⁰⁶ But, Chinese and

English were both used. Meanwhile, Cantonese and Hakka and other dialects were used in mission schools run by different missions.

2.5.6.4 English as An Important Subject

English was an important subject taught in English and American mission schools, especially in those which provided advanced education, i.e. St. Paul's College and the Anglo-Chinese College. Samuel Dyer pointed out the importance of English in the higher level teaching in the Anglo-Chinese College by stating,

the objects of the A.C.C. (Anglo-Chinese College) appear to be two fold, viz., the reciprocal cultivation of European and Chinese literature, and the spread of the gospel of Jesus Christ; the former being carried on with a view to the promotion of the latter.

2.5.6.5 Curriculum for Girl's Schools

In Girls' schools for natives, their learning was mainly in Chinese, the scriptures, needlework or English. These subjects were taught in girls' schools run by the American Baptist Mission and the L.M.S..

In boarding or Home Schools, more time was spent on scripture study as well as moral training. This kind of curriculum was thought to be adequate for girls as wives and mothers-to-be. In his letter (Sept 27, 1851, Hong Kong), Legge expressed his intention of employing a female English teacher in the girls' school, and stated that her work should be,

...the care of the morals of the children and their instruction in sewing and household duties.

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So, in girls' boarding schools, more housework was expected, because a girl's duty was to keep her family comfortable.

In conclusion, during this period (1842-1859), Chinese Classics and the scriptures constituted the common core curriculum in the mission schools. English was made an important subject because of its commercial value. A broader curriculum was practised in mission schools for higher education.

2.5.7 Qualification of the Teachers

2.5.7.1 Native Teachers

During the period 1842 to 1859, neither a system of teacher training was established, nor any standard for school masters was set. Frequently the teachers were employed on the recommendation of the village elders. Due to the lack of teachers and the absence of teacher standards, many problems arose. The teachers' qualifications were poor. Some of them were found to be only half-educated or illiterate, while others might have failed in the Imperial Examinations.

In traditional Chinese ideology, a teacher with academic degrees from the Chinese Imperial Examination was much respected by parents. Yet, in this period, teachers

were not easily found. Consequently, the teacher accepted by the villagers also gained respect from the parents.

The missionaries did not have enough natives to assist them in their educational work. This could be ascribed to the confused state of society which resulted in shortage of teachers regardless of their qualifications. Many people changed to teaching when they found their previous job was not a good way of earning a living. In addition to the problems created by constant job changing, the shortage of teachers, and the lack of systematic professional training, social problems also exerted pressure on the teacher. For example, the rise in the cost of living, including rent and the price of food, made it difficult for the teachers to remain in the job of teaching.

Moreover, Chinese scholars generally disliked working for foreigners. Therefore, missionaries were unable to find a sufficient number of satisfactory teachers in the local community, even from among those without formal qualifications.

In 1850, Legge's letter (Oct 30, 1850, Hong Kong) described this phenomenon:

In the seminary and school however also I am a good deal assisted but not sufficiently, and no Chinese can give the missionary help.²¹³

In fact, native Christians with a knowledge of Chinese Classics were ideal persons to teach in mission schools. According to the missionary records, the schools were frequently run by lay teachers. Even so,

difficulties arose from the shortage of teachers. For example, in 1845, Mgr. Feliciani's report to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith indicated his intention to close both the English and the Chinese sections of his school because it was difficult to get good teachers, and that the school was not fruitful in conversions.²¹⁴ Nevertheless, the congregation continued to hold classes in the Mission House under lay teachers.²¹⁵

2.5.7.2 Teacher Training of Native Teachers

The training of pupil teachers was attempted in the 1850s in St. Paul's College to tackle the problem. The Missionary Register 1852 recorded,

Six of whom (students) were under special training for becoming teachers.

²¹⁶

Indeed, there were few trained teachers because when they found good jobs in the commercial field, they frequently gave up their training.

2.5.7.3 Missionaries as Teachers

During the period 1842 to 1859, the majority of teachers were missionaries, except in the subject of Chinese. In girls' schools, the wives and daughters of the Protestant missionaries, as well as the Roman Catholic nuns were the only teachers, because most Chinese women were illiterate.

In the American Baptist Mission, Mrs. Shuck established a girls' school in 1843. In the L.M.S., Mrs. Legge and her daughter (in the 1840s), and Mrs. Chalmers (in the 1850s) were the principal teachers in the girls' school.

2.5.8 Reactions of Chinese Parents

B. Holmes' words on the essential conditions for the existence of mission schools accurately described the situation in Hong Kong.

In order to survive, the mission schools had to be supported either by the government as a socially needed service or by parents.

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The survival, development, and growth of the mission school "were related to its ability to adapt to local needs".²¹⁸ In other words, the reactions of Chinese parents were one of the factors which determined the existence and survival of mission schools.

During the period 1842 to 1859, many Chinese²¹⁹ distrusted the government schools because of the poor teacher quality, government intervention and their dislike of class teaching. The Education Committee frequently complained of the poor attainment of students in these schools.²²⁰ This reflects the unsatisfactory situation in education at that time. On the other hand, the mission schools attracted the poor people because they were free schools and of a better standard than that of the government village schools.²²¹

Generally speaking, the only parents interested in mission schools were Christians or poor Chinese who could not pay for their children to study in private schools or who distrusted the government school teachers because of their poor qualifications and morals, or who did not want their children to sit for the Imperial Examination. These parents only wanted their children to learn sufficient characters to cope with their daily life.

If parents were wealthy enough, they sent their children back to China for education. Most parents wanted their sons, if possible, to take part in the Imperial Examination. Some parents put their children under the guidance of private tutors if they could not send them home. As Endacott wrote,

Those who could afford it preferred the traditional Chinese education, free from government interference, and from Western influence.

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As mentioned earlier when discussing the curriculum of mission schools, Chinese parents generally appreciated the traditional Chinese curriculum and teaching method, which involved much recitation and rote learning. In both Anglo-Chinese Schools and Vernacular Village Schools the use of Chinese traditional texts was crucial as far as the enrolment of pupils was concerned.

On the whole, the public suspected an English education, even when conducted on a religious basis. The scholars of the mission schools quickly got "an unenviable

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notoriety in Police Court cases". Thus, mission schools which provided an English education, were seen by many parents and administrators as failing to effect any kind of moral reform. They could only "draw out the vicious elements inherent in the Chinese character".

As Legge's letter (Jan 29, 1850, Hong Kong) noted,

It is said that few pupils in Mission Schools become genuine converts, and that the English education which they receive exposes them the more to temptation.

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However, a few Chinese parents realised the practical value of English in finding good jobs and convinced their relatives of the fact. In these cases, English was favoured by the parents as a subject in the curriculum. Indeed, studying in mission schools was the most effective way of learning English, particularly in the early decades after Hong Kong was founded. Having learnt English, one could earn one's living or climb up the social ladder. This motive for studying at St. Paul's College was recorded in A History of Hong Kong,

Many pupils were eager to attend St. Paul's purely for the economic advantage of learning English.

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This same thing happened in the Preparatory School and Theological Seminary (Anglo-Chinese College) established by the L.M.S.. In his letter (Feb 19, 1849, Hong Kong), Legge stated,

Anyone applying for the office (job of teaching in the Seminary) simply as an honourable means of livelihood,likely to be tempted after a time into some mercantile office by the inducement of high pay.

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After the closure of the Seminary, Legge wrote about his two pupils of the Seminary. His letter (Jan 13, 1859, Hong Kong) reflected the failure in conversion:

The two boys who remain in the Seminary are sons of poor Christians, and one of them an orphan.... I hear nothing of their making a profession of Christianity. I shall seek for them some secular employment by which they can earn their bread.

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The closure of the Anglo-Chinese College at the end of the year 1856 was justified on the grounds that, "though it had trained some useful clerks for mercantile offices, it had failed from a missionary and educational point of view".

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Concerning English education in the period, Eitel observed that both Colleges had made the same mistake by taking in heathen boys, who were paid, clothed, fed and given a liberal English education under the instruction of first-class teachers from England. Indeed, it subsequently proved to be a failure in terms of training native preachers and teachers. None of the pupils in St. Paul's College became a preacher, although some of them later became influential men in responsible official or commercial positions. To a certain extent, their Christian attitudes influenced society, although they might never directly advocate the adoption of Christianity.

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One can understand the effects of the pragmatism of the Chinese with reference to a decrease in the number of Anglo-Chinese Schools run by the missions from 7 in 1850

to 4 in 1859. They were frequently closed down after
several years' existence.²³²

Female education was offered in only a few mission schools, since Chinese parents did not want their girls to study in schools run by foreigners. As Legge and Chalmers (Jan 12, 1855, Hong Kong) observed,

The female population is in a great measure inaccessible to missionaries, owing to the prevailing notions of the Chinese about female decorum.

²³³

However, orphans and abandoned girls were not prevented from receiving Western education, as they got no objection from parents.

During this period (1842-1859), conditions did not favour the development of mission schools. Many existed only for a short time, then closed because of low attendance, particularly those run specially for the Chinese.

Some might argue that the brief existence of the mission schools was nothing to do with the reaction of the Chinese. The government-assisted village schools could be regarded as part of the mission schools because these schools were controlled by the missionaries through the Government Education Committee. As a result, the missionaries did not need to concentrate on the development of mission schools. Yet, the writer would disagree with this explanation.

First, the missionaries on the Education Committee only came from two Protestant churches -- the L.M.S. and

the Anglican Church. The Roman Catholics and other Protestant missions had no connection with this Committee.

Second, the successful introduction of Biblical Knowledge into these schools came about only after 1852 when the Bishop became the chairman of the Committee. However, this advantage was maintained for a period of less than 10 years. Before 1852, there was still considerable evidence of the failure of mission schools in relation to education.

Third, the number of village schools was not great, not exceeding 5 in the first seven years (1847-1854). Although the number increased a great deal, under the governance of Bowring (1854-59), there was no government support for religious education. On the contrary, Bowring complained that the missionaries had special objects that unfitted them for general and popular Education. Bowring's secular educational plan for reform was interrupted by the political tension between China and Britain, financial obstacles and his heavy work-load. Therefore, the missionaries had to overcome many difficulties if they wanted to rely on the government vernacular schools to boost religion.

In fact, the failure in the development of mission schools in this period was due to lack of parental support, financial difficulties of the missions, as well as the inconsistent government and missionary policies, which have been discussed in previous sections.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, there are clear indications that the mission schools by 1859 had not yet begun to attract the Chinese in any great number. Endacott described the difficulties encountered by the Diocesan Native Female Training School (set up in late 1859 or 1860) by stating,

It seems fairly clear that the Chinese did not want at that early date a European education for either their boys or their girls.

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Consequently, progress of mission schools was minimal and mission schools were frequently disbanded during this period. This phenomenon was due to low enrolment, financial problems and the shortage of missionaries. The School of the Morrison Education Society and the Anglo-Chinese College were examples.

During the period 1842 to 1859, the children educated in the Catholic schools were mostly non-Chinese, due to the policy of the Roman Catholics and the unfavourable reaction of Chinese parents. The Roman Catholic schools survived because a number of Portuguese and English pupils attended their schools.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- (1) For details, see G. P. A. Best, "The Religious Difficulties of National Education in England, 1800-1870", Cambridge Historical Journal, no.12 (1956), pp.155-73.
- (2) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.135.
- (3) B. Holmes, Education policy and Mission Schools: Case Studies from the British Empire, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967, p.17.
- (4) Ibid., p.16.
- (5) Lord Stanley to Sir Henry Pottinger, June 3, 1843, no.8, Colonial Office Records, series 129, no.3.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.37.
- (8) Young maids usually were ill-treated and could be sold as commodities according to the likes and dislikes of their master or mistress, although in very rare cases they could be treated as adopted daughters.
- (9) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China: The History of Hong Kong from the Beginning to the Year 1882, reprint, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1983, p.291.
- (10) The Morrison Education Society was founded by foreign merchants at Canton in 1835 in memory of the Rev. R. Morrison, the first Protestant Missionary to China. The school of the Society moved to Hong Kong from Macao in 1842.
- (11) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.133.
- (12) CWM Archives: G4, Box4, a letter (Aug 12, 1844, Victoria) from Dr. Legge to John Francis Davis, the second Governor of Hong Kong, described this case on greater detail.
- (13) Concerning the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca, see R. Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, 2 vols, London, Oxford University Press, 1899, vol.2, pp.416-8.

- (14) Council for World Mission (CWM) Archives: G4, Box4, Letter of Legge (June 19, 1844, Hong Kong).
- (15) E. J. Eitel, "Materials for a History Education in Hong Kong", China Review, vol.19 (1890-1891), p.312, and also G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.135.
- (16) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.135.
- (17) Ibid.
- (18) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.247.
- (19) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.136.
- (20) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.280.
- (21) E. J. Eitel, "Materials", op.cit., p.320.
- (22) R. Pieris, "Bilingualism and Cultural Marginality", British Journal of Sociology, vol.2(1951), pp.330-1.
- (23) G. Gleason, Hong Kong, London, Robert Hales Ltd., 1963, p.172.
- (24) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.137.
- (25) Ibid., p.138.
- (26) Ibid.
- (27) Ibid., p.86.
- (28) E.J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.347.
- (29) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.68.
- (30) Missionary Register 1844, p.143.
- (31) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1853.
- (32) Missionary Register 1843, p.64.
- (33) Missionary Register 1845, p.483, letter from Mr. Smith to Archbishop of Canterbury in England.
- (34) Church Missionary Record 1863, p.318.
- (35) J. Y. L. Chung, Chung-hua sheng-kung-hui hua-nan

chiao-qu pai-nien shih-lueh (A Brief Church History of the Diocese of Hong Kong and South China of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui 1849-1949 A.D.), Hong Kong, The Bishop House, 1951, pp.5-9.

- (36) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.348.
- (37) Church Missionary Record 1863, p.318.
- (38) The London missionary Society was founded in 1795 by a body of Congregationalists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans who combined to promote Christian missions to the heathen. Since 1966 its work has been the responsibility of the Congregational Council for World Mission. For details, refer to F. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone (eds), The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978, p.832.
- (39) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter (Sept 26, 1853, Hong Kong).
- (40) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge & Chalmers' letter of Jan 26, 1853, Hong Kong.
- (41) CWM Archives: G4, A & J Stronach's letter (Sept 8, 1843, Hong Kong).
- (42) Dr. W. Lockhart, a missionary of the L.M.S., arrived Macao in 1839. After the opening of the Treaty Ports, he was sent to North China.
- (43) CWM Archives, G4, Box4, Lockhart's Report (Jan 13, 1842, Macao).
- (44) Rev. J. R. Morrison, the son of the Rev. Robert Morrison, was the Secretary of the Morrison Education Society at that time.
- (45) CWM Archives: G4, J. R. Morrison's letter (May 1, 1842, Hong kong).
- (46) CWM Archives: G4, Box4, J. R. Morrison's letter (May 1, 1842, Hong Kong).
- (47) CWM Archives: G4, Box4.
- (48) CWM Archives: G4, Box4, May 29, 1845, Hong Kong.
- (49) CWM Archives: G4, Cleland's letter (March 31, 1848, Hong Kong) and Dr. Hirschberg's letter (Dec 27, 1848, Hong Kong).

- (50) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letter (Nov 22, 1852, Hong Kong).
- (51) CWM Archives: G4, Legge and Chalmers' letter (Jan 8, 1856, Hong Kong).
- (52) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letters (Oct 30, 1850, and Nov 22, 1852, Hong Kong).
- (53) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letter (May 20, 1850, Hong Kong).
- (54) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Report for 1873.
- (55) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.10.
- (56) CWM Archives: G4, Hobson's letter (Nov 26, 1844, Hong Kong).
- (57) CWM Archives: G4, Morrison's letter (May 1, 1842, Hong Kong).
- (58) CWM Archives: G4, Legge and Hobson's letter (May 25, 1844, Hong Kong).
- (59) Missionary Register 1843, p.142.
- (60) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.8.
- (61) A. Wylie, Publications of Protestant Missionaries: Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese 1807-1867, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867, p.91.
- (62) CWM Archives: G4, Hobson's letter (May 29, 1845, Hong Kong).
- (63) Missionary Register 1843, American Presbyterian Mission, p.156.
- (64) The Basel Missionary Society was established in Switzerland in 1815. Members of this Society are mostly German and Swiss.
- (65) C. T. Smith, Chinese Christians: Elites, middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1985, p.5.
- (66) Missionary Register 1847, p.261.
- (67) T. F. Ryan, The Story of A hundred Years, Hong Kong, Catholic Truth society, 1959, p.1.

- (68) Fr. Ticozzi (tran. by C. Yau), Hsiang-kang tien-chu-chiao chang-ku (Chronicles of Catholic Church in Hong Kong), Hong Kong, Holy Spirit Study centre, 1983,, p.1.
- (69) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.7.
- (70) Ibid., p.15.
- (71) B. Holmes, op.cit., p.1. Also, W. T. Thomas & R. B. Manikan, The Church in Southeast Asia, New York, Friendship Press, 1956, p.12.
- (72) B. Holmes, ibid.
- (73) Ibid.
- (74) For details, refer to the Missionary Register 1843, p.50, and Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.21-3.
- (75) Missionary Register 1843, p.50.
- (76) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.24.
- (77) CWM Archives: G4, letter of J. Cleland (May 25, 1848, Hong Kong). Also, E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.281, and The Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.2.
- (78) The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macao 1849-1974, Hong Kong, Diocesan Office, 1974, p.9.
- (79) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.52.
- (80) Formerly, the techniques of injection and operation were not commonly realized by the Chinese. Later, the health problem and awful epidemics gave the chance to the Western doctors to verify their ability and break the Chinese obsession about Western medicine and surgery. Belatedly in 1894, when the bubonic plague in Hong Kong caused thousands of death, the Chinese in Hong Kong still deeply distrusted Western medicine and resented Western troops forcibly entering their houses to remove dead and sick bodies. For details, see N. Cameron, Hong Kong: The Cultural Pearl, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1978, pp.118-9. The lack of confidence in the Western diagnosis and surgery was explained by the missionaries being the fact that the Chinese did "not know the western culture well" resulting in "rejecting the treatment of western medicine" (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1894, p.752.)

- (81) G. H. Choa, The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 1981, p.28.
- (82) Ibid.
- (83) For details, see The Church Missionary Intelligencer 1840-50.
- (84) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.14.
- (85) Ibid., p.31.
- (86) The Colonial Treasurer's words quoted by R. M. Martin's Report (July 24, 1844) in G. B. Endacott's An Eastern Entrepôt: A Collection of Documents Illustrating the History of Hong Kong, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964, p.96.
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- (88) Ibid.
- (89) CWM Archives: G4, Box6.
- (90) CWM Archives: G4, Chalmers's letter (Sept 27, 1858, Hong Kong).
- (91) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letter (Jan 15, 1857, Hong Kong).
- (92) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Eitel's Report for 1873, Hong Kong.
- (93) C. T. Smith, Chinese Christians, op.cit., p.197.
- (94) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., pp.281-2.
- (95) CWM Archives: G4, Box6.
- (96) J. R. Commons, Races and Immigrants in America, New York, Augustus M. Kelly, 1920, p.108.
- (97) G. B. Endacott and A. Hinton, Fragrant Harbour: A Short History of Hong Kong, 2nd edition, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1968, p.68.
- (98) Missionary Register 1844, p.125.
- (99) CWM Archives: G4.
- (100) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.127.
- (101) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.35.

- (102) CWM Archives: G4, Box4.
- (103) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, The Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong: A Hundred Years of Church History 1849-1949, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1949, p.127.
- (104) CWM Archives: G4, Box6, Legge's letter (Jan 15, 1857, Hong Kong).
- (105) CWM Archives: G4, Box6, Chalmers' letter (June 5, 1858, Hong Kong).
- (106) CWM Archives: China-- Odd 6, Report for 1915 of Hong Kong and New Territories Evangelization Society recorded,

Non-Christians think their misfortunes have come because they have given up their idolatry and are a result of the anger of the idols.

- (107) Ibid.
- (108) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter (Nov 24, 1848, Hong Kong).
- (109) Missionary Register 1843, p.50.
- (110) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Miss. Rowe's Report for 1888.
- (111) CWM Archives: G4, Box6, March 28, 1860.
- (112) Missionary Register 1842, pp.416-7. Rev. Bridgman's letter (Jan 1 1842, Macao) wrote, "At Hong Kong, Amoy, Chusan, Chinhae and Ningpo-- all of which are now occupied by British Forces-- full protection and full toleration are enjoyed. To these places no missionaries have yet gone to reside.... except on short visits."
- (113) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.117.
- (114) Ibid., p.117.
- (115) The establishment and work of St. Paul's College were illustrated in the Church Missionary Intelligencer 1840-50, p.446.
- (116) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., P.20.
- (117) Ibid.

- (118) Ibid., p.153.
- (119) Missionary Register 1845, p.117.
- (120) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter (Feb 19, 1849, Hong Kong).
- (121) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.93-4.
- (122) Missionary Register 1846, p.122.
- (123) J. C. Keyte, In China Now, London, Church Missionary Society, 1923, p.87.
- (124) CWM Archives: G4, Box4.
- (125) Missionary Register 1844, p.143.
- (126) Missionary Register 1845, p.126.
- (127) Missionary Register 1855, p.113.
- (128) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.20.
- (129) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (130) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.29.
- (131) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.21-2.
- (132) Missionary Register 1843, p.120.
- (133) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.281.
- (134) Christian Missions in Hongkong: A Short Account of the Work of Protestant Missions in the Colony, Hong Kong, China Mail Office, 1896, p.16.
- (135) Missionary Register 1853, p.122.
- (136) Baptist Press, Hsiang-kang chi-tu-chiao chiao-yu ti hsien-chu (Pioneers of Christian Education in Hongkong), Hong Kong, Baptist Press, 1955, p.72.
- (137) Chinese Repository, Sept., 1844.
- (138) Yu Wai-hung (ed.), Chi-tu-chiao hsiang-kang tsung-tsin-hui shih-lueh (A Brief History of Tsung-Tsin Mission in Hong Kong), Hong Kong, Hsiang-kang tsung-tsin-hui shu-pan-bu, 1974, p.21.
- (139) Missionary Register 1843, p.139.
- (140) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.32.

- (141) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.29.
- (142) Ibid.
- (143) Ibid., p.30.
- (144) Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres, Almost as Old as Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres, 1973, p.3.
- (145) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.30.
- (146) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.98.
- (147) Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres, op.cit., p.5.
- (148) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.99-100.
- (149) Missionary Register 1844, p.127.
- (150) CWM Archives: G4, Box4.
- (151) CWM Archives: G4, J. Chalmers' The Downgrade of the China Missionary (Dec 1, 1891, Hong Kong).
- (152) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (153) CWM Archives: G4, Chalmers' letter (March 26, 1853, Hong Kong).
- (154) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (155) CWM Archives: G4, Box4, Legge & Hobson's letter of May 25, 1844, Hong Kong.
- (156) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.191.
- (157) A. Wylie, op.cit., pp.90-1.
- (158) MMS Archives: China (Canton), Box487.
- (159) H. E. Legge, James Legge: Missionary and Scholar, London, Religious Tract Society, 1905.
- (160) W. Loscheid was the Inspector of Schools in Hong Kong during 1857-59.
- (161) MMS Archives: China (Canton), Box 487.
- (162) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letter (Feb 19, 1849, Hong Kong).
- (163) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letter (Jan 17, 1850, Hong

Kong).

- (164) Ibid.
- (165) Ibid.
- (166) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter of April 23, 1852, Hong Kong.
- (167) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (168) Ibid.
- (169) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter of April 23, 1852.
- (170) Missionary Register 1855, p.113.
- (171) Yu Wai-hung, op.cit., p.21.
- (172) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.30-1.
- (173) Ibid., pp.1-4.
- (174) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.82.
- (175) Ibid., p.44.
- (176) Ibid., p.138.
- (177) G. Byne, "A Problem of Education in Hong Kong", Educational Journal (Hong Kong), vol.8(1933), p.56.
- (178) CWM Archives: G4, Box4, Aug 27, 1846, Hong Kong.
- (179) CWM Archives: G4, Hobson's letter (Nov 26, 1844, Hong Kong).
- (180) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Jan 8, 1856, Hong Kong.
- (181) CWM Archives: G4, Incoming letters (1842-1851).
- (182) A. Wylie, op.cit., p.91.
- (183) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.172.
- (184) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter (Jan 29, 1849, Hong Kong).
- (185) Missionary Register 1853, p.122.
- (186) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.74.

- (187) Ibid., p.21.
- (188) Ibid., p.25.
- (189) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.281.
- (190) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letter (Jan-May, 1843, Hong Kong), and Gillespie's letter (Aug 18, 1846, Hong Kong).
- (191) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.109.
- (192) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (193) CWM Archives: G4, Box6, Legge's letters (1857-1859, Hong Kong).
- (194) CWM Archives: G4, Legge and Chalmers' letter (Jan 27, 1853).
- (195) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.74.
- (196) Missionary Register 1844, p.126.
- (197) W. Lobscheid, A Few Notices on the Extent of Chinese Education and the Government Schools of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China Mail Office, 1859, Appendix II.
- (198) CWM Archives: G4, Cleland's letter (March 31, 1848, Kowloon) records the curriculum in some distant mission schools.
- (199) Missionary Register 1843, p.50.
- (200) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (201) CWM Archives: Morrison's letter (May 1, 1842, Hong Kong) and Legge's letter (April 23, 1852).
- (202) CWM Archives: Legge's letter of Jan 29, 1850, Hong Kong.
- (203) G. Cousin, A Life for China, London, London Missionary Society, 1900, p.8.
- (204) Missionary Register 1845, American Board of Foreign Mission, p.126.
- (205) Missionary Register 1852, p.121.
- (206) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter of Feb 19, 1849, Hong Kong.
- (207) CWM Archives: G4, Box5, Legge's letter of Jan 29,

1850, Hong Kong.

- (208) CWM Archives: G4, Samuel Dyer's letter (Aug 26, 1843, Hong Kong).
- (209) Baptist Press, op.cit., p.16.
- (210) CWM Archives: Gillespie and Cleland's letter (Dec 26, 1846, Hong Kong).
- (211) Missionary Register 1855, p.305.
- (212) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (213) CWM Archives: G4 Box5.
- (214) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.28.
- (215) Ibid., p.30.
- (216) Missionary Register 1852, p.122.
- (217) B. Holmes, op.cit., p.30.
- (218) Ibid., p.1.
- (219) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.141.
- (220) For details, see W. Lobscheid's A Few Notices which recorded the Annual Reports of the Education Committee.
- (221) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.141.
- (222) Ibid.
- (223) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.289.
- (224) Ibid.
- (225) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (226) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.137.
- (227) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (228) CWM Archives: G4, Box6.
- (229) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.347.
- (230) E. J. Eitel, "The Protestant Missions of Hongkong",

China Mail, Dec 4, 1875.

(231) Ibid.

(232) W. Lobscheid, op.cit., Appendix II.

(233) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.

(234) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.156.

Chapter III MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN HONG KONG (1859-1877)

3.1 Government Policies

Three Governors held office during the period 1859 to 1877: Sir H. Robinson (1859-65), Sir R. G. MacDonnell (1866-72) and Sir A. E. Kennedy (1872-77). In contrast to the previous period (1842-1859), the Governor of Hong Kong was not required to carry out the duty of the plenipotentiary and Superintendent of Trade after 1859. Henceforth, the duty of Governor was mainly to deal with affairs in the Colony. Therefore, the Governor could devote himself wholly to its administration.¹ As a result, educational policies were more consistent.

The Governors, during this period, were all secularists, particularly Kennedy. The secular educational emphasis can mainly be attributed to the governors' influence, as well as to the influence of two major educational policy planners, Legge and Dr. F. Stewart.

As a first step, in 1860, Robinson disbanded the "Education Committee" and formed a new "Board of Education" which gradually reduced the religious influence in government schools. The power of the Board was restricted because the appointment of the Inspector of Schools remained in the hands of the Governor. In addition, both the Inspector and teachers could appeal

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directly to the Governor. Meanwhile, more Government officers and local merchants were appointed to sit on the Board, and the number of missionaries on the Board dwindled. In 1860 the newly organised Board consisted of three missionaries out of a total membership of six. These missionaries were Legge, Smith (the Bishop of Victoria) and Rev. Irwin (the Colonial Chaplain).

In 1860/61, after Rev. Lobsheid, a German missionary, resigned from the post of Inspector of Schools, and while Smith was absent from the Chair of the Board of Education for his 7th visit to the Diocese,³ Robinson, on the recommendation of the Board,⁴ approved Legge's plan. Its aimed to place the government schools outside the control of clergymen and to get rid of the religious influence in government schools by establishing a large Central School, which was to be run on secular lines. This plan "was essentially a non-conformist liberation scheme which preferred secularism to episcopalianism".⁵ Legge occupied the Chair as the only missionary on the Board of Education during the period 1863 to 1865.

It is worth noting that Legge, a missionary of the L.M.S., after years of service to the Chinese, abandoned his policy of proselytising "Christianity through letters".⁶ His earlier attitude to education was revealed in his letters in the 1840s.⁷

Later, as a result of his understanding of the character of the Chinese and his failure to train Chinese

clergymen through mission schools, Legge believed that moral education would be achieved through learning the Chinese Classics.

The Hon. W. T. Mercer, the former Colonial Secretary became the lieutenant Governor and administered Hong Kong for a whole year from 1865 to 1866. He faithfully and⁸ ably continued the policy of Robinson. Legge's major secular educational reform was completed under Mercer's administration when Stewart, at the suggestion of Legge, was appointed Head of the Education Department (June 24,⁹ 1865) after the dissolution of the Board of Education. This reform made the government schools and Education Department directly responsible to the Governor.

Although MacDonnell "was a religious character", and¹⁰ frequently offered his help to the C.M.S., he did not oppose secular education. During his administration, the Grant-in-aid Scheme, a secular measure, was brewing. Stewart, then the Inspector of Schools and Headmaster of the Central School, as well as an educational policy planner supported by the Governor, felt that Bible teaching was useless. He favoured a purely secular curriculum and argued that "Confucianism was an excellent¹¹ basis for moral training". This statement was a response to the criticism of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Alford (the new Bishop of Victoria who succeeded Smith) of the "godless" education in 1866.

Moreover, in his Report for 1867, Stewart expressed

the view that secular education was adopted in government schools because of the "great repugnance which the Chinese mind had to religious instruction".¹² As a consequence, the government schools, which had formerly been conducted in the interest of religious education,¹³ were converted into professed secular institutions. Nevertheless, individual teachers still taught scripture in the government aided village schools.¹⁴

The Grant-in-aid Scheme, was initiated in 1873 under the influence of the Forster's Education Act of 1st August, 1870, in England. This scheme provided the mission schools with some assistance, but it was confined to secular instruction.

Kennedy, an uncompromising secularist,¹⁵ supported the policy that a grant was only to be given to those schools adopting secular instruction under the Grant Code of 1873. In his speech at the Central School (Jan 28, 1875), he expressed his view of secular education;

Any attempt in religious instruction was impossible in a school composed of mixed nationalities.

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In 1876, in another speech at the Central School, he reaffirmed his commitment to a policy of secular education;

The same system will be carried on as long as I feel myself supported by the public opinion of the Colony, and the Executive and the Legislative Council.

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Thus, he firmly believed that it was right to adopt a secular educational policy which was favoured by the

public.

Stewart also explained the secular education policy in the Annual Report of the Inspector of Schools for 1874,

The government is not opposed to religious instruction but it believes that the boys should find their religious instruction somewhere else.

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The Grant-in-aid Scheme was intended to promote the government's policy of developing elementary education. It was probably partly a response to the campaigns in 1865 and 1871, led by Stewart to establish a compulsory school-attendance law in 1865 and 1871, despite the fact that it was not supported by either Mercer or MacDonnell.¹⁹ On the other hand, the introduction of the Grant-in-aid Scheme might have been intended to overcome the problem of bad academic results, and the closure of some government schools. In fact, in the 1850s and 1860s the Reports of the Education Committee, the Board of Education and the Inspector of Schools, frequently complained about the low attainment of students, the low morality of teachers and the irregular attendance in government village schools, as well as about the indifference of parents. As Stewart, in Reports of the Headmaster and Inspector of Schools for 1865 wrote,

The parents consider they are doing government a favour by sending their children to its school.

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Furthermore, it might have been intended to reduce the effects of the economic depression during the late

1860s. MacDonnell limited the use of public funds because of the deficit and saw supporting mission schools as a good way of using a small amount of money to promote social development. So, the decision to support mission schools seemed sensible.

In retrospect, E. A. Irving, the Director of Education from 1909 to 1924, had this to say about the government Grant-in aid Scheme policy in this period (1859-1877),

....confined itself to secular instruction, and so far from supporting the missions, declined to associate with them, except on the clear understanding that money paid for education should not and could not be used for proselytising.

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In fact, public money on schools was spent solely for secular education, but the Grant-in-aid Scheme had important results for elementary education. As the Hong Kong Government Gazette 1875 stated, Grant-in-aid facilitated "the Promotion of elementary education in the Colony".²² Endacott also provided a similar favourable evaluation,

His (Kennedy's) great contribution to education in the Colony was the introduction of the grant-in-aid scheme by which the voluntary schools were financially assisted.

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Yet, in the writer's opinion, Kennedy's predecessor, MacDonnell also contributed because the plan was started in 1871 when MacDonnell administered Hong Kong.

Under this scheme, the school had to have an average attendance of no less than twenty students and secular education had to be provided for not less than four

consecutive hours daily. Grants were made for satisfactory results at an annual examination of secular²⁴ instruction only.

This payment by results policy was supported by Kennedy. In a speech at the Central School (Feb 10, 1874), he said,

I believe that the payment by results is the best. This new system is not only advantageous to the boys, but is a great encouragement to the masters.

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It was stated that the schools which entered this system had to be "open at all times to Government²⁶ inspection". Nevertheless, Stewart, owing to his numerous supervisory duties over all the government and grant schools, as well as being the Headmaster of the Central School, was concerned with mission schools only in respect of enrolments, attendance and examination results, which directly influenced the amount of grant. Occasionally, further comment on discipline, teachers' accommodation, facilities and the like was provided.

In fact, the grant codes were only "civil²⁷ contracts" with no authority. The mission schools could choose not to join this system if they did not want to secure a grant.

Apart from the introduction of the Grant-in-aid Scheme, the consistent emphasis on English by the Government favoured the educational development intended by the missionary societies.

Legge in 1861 emphasized the teaching of English in the Central School to meet the demand of compradores, clerks and interpreters for commercial and government needs.²⁸ Stewart's Report for 1865, announced that the original constitution of the school had been altered by²⁹ making the study of the English language obligatory. English teaching was favoured by parents and students in order to get good jobs. Many of them were already fathers when they entered the preparatory Class in the Central School. This pragmatic view could easily be accommodated. In the 1870s, many Anglo-Chinese or English mission schools were established and developed well, for example, St. Joseph's College, St. Paul's College (revived in 1873) and the Diocesan Home and Orphanage.

In this period, missionaries were still responsible for part of the government's educational work. For instance, Bishop Alford (1867-72) devoted a great deal of time and attention to education in Hong Kong, giving care to the work of the Central School, the Female Diocesan³⁰ School and St. Paul's College.

To conclude, the missionaries were still the main helpers in the educational field. Government financial assistance to them was confined to those secular subjects which showed satisfactory results.

3.2 Missionary Policies

During the period 1859 to 1877, the Protestant and Catholic Missions carried out their evangelical work very purposefully in Hong Kong, particularly after the 1870s, because of the very unsettled conditions in mainland China. In fact, Hong Kong became a good station for evangelism.

3.2.1 Protestants

As mentioned earlier in Chapter II, the Protestant missions had great expectations of the Taiping Rebellion. However, in the 1860s, the L.M.S. and the Anglican Church found that the Taiping Rebellion was a political movement rather than a religious one. For instance, Legge expressed his disappointment in a letter dated July 11, 1862, Hong Kong;

first that the religion of the insurgents is running into a wild and blasphemous fanaticism, and second that they have assumed an attitude of determined hostility to foreigners.

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The book, The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macao 1849-1974 of the Anglican Church took a negative view of the Taiping Rebellion,

Further knowledge of the true character of the Tai Ping movement dampened the enthusiasm, and disillusionment set in.

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Therefore, the Protestants' hope of evangelism in China through "Christian" rebels was shattered.

Meanwhile, Chinese hostility towards foreigners and the comparatively advantageous position of the Catholic

missions, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, made the Protestants change the target of their missionary work.

Hong Kong was gradually chosen as the centre of evangelical work because of its improved situation. Legge highlighted this in his letter dated Dec 31, 1861. (See later in this chapter).

As far as the Anglican Church was concerned, in 1863 Smith's Annual Report reflected his new impression of Hong Kong,

Hong Kong now occupies a new and altered relation towards the Chinese continent. The destruction of the foreign factories at Canton, the lengthened occupation of that city by Anglo-French force, and the general sense of insecurity among the wealthier class of natives through the dreaded approach of rebels, or the corrupt maladministration of Chinese officials, have combined in raising Hong Kong into importance, and in attracting to this our flourishing city of Victoria above 100,000 Chinese.

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In 1869, Alford emphasized the importance of Hong Kong as a missionary station, and pointed out the special advantages and facilities in Hong Kong. He described the opportunity for evangelism in Hong Kong as follows,

Perhaps a finer position for preaching the Gospel is scarcely to be found in China.

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I can see no reason why Hong Kong should be second to any mission in China as to widespread and permanent usefulness.

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For the L.M.S. and the C.M.S., the re-distribution of missionary work in China gradually made Hong Kong assume importance as a centre of evangelism, and not as a

foothold from which to enter China.

The other Protestant missions, such as the American and the German missions, gave no sign of concentrating their efforts on missionary work in Hong Kong. It might be argued that these missions had other targets because Hong Kong was a British Colony. It might also be argued that lack of missionary manpower and financial resources made these non-British missions uncertain about the direction of their work.

For instance, the unstable political and social situation in the 1850s and 1860s in the U.S.A. might have hindered American missionary development. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Baptist Mission almost disbanded their stations in Hong Kong in 1845 and 1860 respectively. Only some native Christians continued to work in Hong Kong. Finally, the Swiss and German missions, i.e. Basel, Berlin and Rhenish, seemed to be interested in working in the whole Kwangtung Province.

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3.2.2 Roman Catholics

The Catholic missions also showed signs of increased missionary effort in Hong Kong. On March 14, 1858, Mgr. Ambrosi in Hong Kong received official notification from the "Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith" in Italy³⁷ about a plan to leave the administrative authority of Hong Kong in the hands of the Fathers of the "Institute

of the Foreign Missions of Milan". This was to replace the supply of missionaries of various Societies through the "Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith". The plan was to provide a stable supply of missionaries to Hong Kong. Its purpose was to develop evangelical work. In 1867, the Apostolic Prefecture of Hong Kong was formally placed under the administration of the Institute of the Foreign Missions of Milan.

In 1874, the then Apostolic Prefecture of Hong Kong was made the Apostolic Vicariate of Hong Kong and increased in importance. Fr. Raimondi, who had been in charge of this district, was promoted Bishop and was appointed first Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong.

This shows how the Catholics made an effort to expand their missionary work in Hong Kong. Unlike the Protestant Missions, the Roman Catholics had set up several dioceses in China before 1840 under the supervision of different church bodies. Hence, during the period 1859 to 1877, Catholic policy in Hong Kong, was to expand the missionary work there rather than to re-distribute its work between areas in China.

3.2.3 Protestants and Roman Catholics

Even after the decision to develop missionary work in Hong Kong, the Protestant Missions continued their work in China by preaching beyond the area of Hong Kong. For example, the L.M.S. was in Poklo, and the C.M.S. was in

China and Japan, which were included in their diocese.

Similarly, the Roman Catholics also preached in an area within six leagues (about 30 Kilometres) of Hong Kong. From 1860/61, the Apostolic Prefecture of Hong Kong expanded to include the whole of Hsin-an County. After 1874, it was established as the Apostolic Vicariate and included Hsin-an, Kwei-shin and Hei-feng Counties.⁴⁰ In the writer's opinion, this reorganisation was consonant with the aim of Roman Catholic development, particularly in the 1860s. As Ryan wrote,

(In the 1860s) He (Mgr. Ambrosi) saw the great possibilities of spreading the Faith among the Chinese and it was due to him that even in the great shortage of priests a considerable proportion of them were engaged in mission work outside the City area.

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In short, despite the increased missionary efforts in Hong Kong, both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Missions were unwilling to give up missionary work in China.

3.2.4 Competition between Roman Catholics and Protestants

Historically, the Roman Catholics started their work in China in the 16th century -- far earlier than the Protestants. As mentioned in Chapter II, the Protestants did not enjoy the same advantages as the Roman Catholics in mainland China because of their comparatively late arrival there.

The Roman Catholics had more influence on Chinese society because of the received view of religion in the

mind of people. Comparatively speaking, Protestantism was in a weaker position in relation to other religions, i.e. Buddhism, Catholicism and Islam. In 1859, Legge indicated this situation by stating,

(The enterprise of China's evangelization)....To be sure, Popery is still in the field, and in much greater force than Protestantism is.

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It is worth noting that the Catholics did not work very successfully in China because of their intolerance of idolatry, and the rites of ancestor worship. However, the Protestants did not derive any advantage from this, since the Chinese would not adopt very different attitudes and for their part, could not distinguish between the two religions. The Chinese had a bad impression of all Western religions.

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According to a clause in the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, protection was given to foreigners and Chinese to propagate and adopt the Christian religion all over the Empire. Nevertheless, tolerance for Protestants was not realised. Evidence for this condition is found in R. H. Graves' letter to Rev. F. S. Turner, a missionary of the L.M.S., dated Aug 8, 1867 (Canton). He hoped the Society would petition the British government to enable Protestant missions the same rights (residing and purchasing land away from the Treaty ports) as had been granted to the Roman Catholics;

....this right (to reside and acquire property for Mission purpose away from the Treaty Ports) is claimed and exercised by the Roman Catholics on

the ground of the French Treaty Art. 6th which reads, "It is in addition permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to erect building thereon at pleasure".

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Mr. Williamson of the C.M.S. investigated this problem of rights in his papers Journey in North China (April 6, 1872),

....the restriction of Missionaries to the ports has been advocated; and even the adaption of Christianity to its great purpose has been questioned.

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Protestant Missionaries....should not be denied rights and privilege which are granted to Roman Catholics and even Mohammedans.

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Hence, the Protestants had fewer rights than those enjoyed by the Catholics. Their sphere of work was confined to the treaty ports for historical reasons.

To conclude, the relative failure of Protestants in China was one reason why, after the 1860s, the British missions put more effort into Hong Kong. The changing attitude of the missionaries can be seen in the Protestant missionary records. As a result of their encounters in

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China, progress in Hong Kong was fostered.

3.3 The Reaction of the Chinese to Missionary Policies

During the period 1859 to 1877, the Emperor and Chinese officials were consistently hostile towards foreigners. As Eitel wrote,

It is worthy of notice that the long continued success of Taipings did not induce the Manchu Government to relax its anti-European policy in

the slightest degree.

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The attitude of the Chinese Government and its direct influence on its people served as a deterrent to missionary work. Generally speaking, the Chinese followed the Emperor in developing their relationships with foreigners. The populace would not accept a foreign religion if the Emperor's attitude towards foreigners was hostile.⁵⁰ District officials also treated the missionaries in accordance with their own attitude to religion, under the Emperor's influence.

Hostility among the Chinese towards foreigners hampered the spread of Faith in God. During the 1860s and 1870s, riots and commotions in China occurred one after another.⁵¹ In some instances missionaries were murdered.

The insurrections, with looting and massacres, appalled foreigners.⁵² For instance, a crowd in Canton attacked

them, because of the military conflict there. They called them "foreign devils" and "pelted the foreigners with stones".⁵³

As early as the close of the 1850s, Canton appeared unsuited to evangelism, due to Chinese hostility.

Consequently, the missionaries were compelled to abandon parts of the station. The L.M.S. temporarily

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disbanded the station in Canton in 1857. In the same

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year, the C.M.S. had no missionary in Canton. The next year, 1858, work at all missions was suspended in Canton

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due to the Arrow War (1856-1858).

Even people in Hong Kong suffered from the chaos.

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They had to go back to their native villages in China to take care of their relatives and property, and to protest against foreign aggression. This influence continued in the early 1860s.⁵⁷

Thus, political instability was very evident in China. Consequently, the missionaries had to change the direction of their work.

Hope rose among the missionaries after the 2nd Sino-British War (1856-1860) when clauses in the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and the Convention of Peking (1860) gave Westerners more rights in China. Yet, they were disappointed because hostility still existed among the Chinese officials and the people. For instance, in 1869 Christianity first spread into Kwei-shin, which was situated to the north of Hong Kong. This provoked objections, and the local authority posted public notices forbidding the Chinese to attend any Christian meetings, on pain of being treated as outlaws.⁵⁸

Eventually, the missionaries found that their evangelical hopes in China were shattered. The granting of toleration to the Christian religion⁵⁹ was an edict only in name. Doubtless, the whole situation in China was unsatisfactory for the propagation of Christianity. Eitel, in the Report of the Hong Kong and Poklo Station, in 1873, stated,

Now I do not deny that China as a whole does not as yet favourably compare with other mission fields where the time of the harvest has already come!

On the other hand, the comparatively favourable situation in Hong Kong promoted the development of missionary work. By the close of the 1850s, a large number of refugees, with their families and property fled to Hong Kong to avoid the riots in China. Their lives in Hong Kong were stable, and they had no wish to migrate to other countries. They invested in real estate.

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Meanwhile, hostility in Canton compelled foreign firms to move their head offices from Canton to Hong Kong. As Augustine Heard, Jr., recalled:

Up to 1856, Canton was the chief place of business in China, and all the mercantile firms had their headquarters [there], with the exception of the two leading English houses [Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Dent & Co.], whose heads were in Hong Kong. But with the destruction of the [foreign] factories [in Canton], all were driven there [Hong Kong].

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Hong Kong grew prosperous. Legge's letter (Dec 31, 1861, Hong Kong) highlighted the advantageous situation in Hong Kong by the 1860s,

The population of Hong Kong is now over 100,000. It is not of that fluctuating character which belonged to its former years. It has risen in stability and respectability. I do not think there is a city in China where another missionary could be employed so happily and hopefully.

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The Chinese culture was thus carried into Hong Kong from different parts of China. The traditional ideology and thought persistently remained in the mind of the people in Hong Kong. This hindered conversion. However, in the writer's opinion, generally speaking, these immigrants differed from those previously coming to Hong

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Kong. They fled to Hong Kong to avoid the uprisings. Among them, many were relatively knowledgeable and wealthy. They would have been of great help to the missions if they had recognised the Faith of God.

Compared with the earlier period (1842-1859) in Hong Kong, the rejection of Christianity became less strong since some of the Chinese people were educated in schools on western lines or engaged in foreign trade. As F. S. Turner (Report for 1867, Hong Kong) wrote,

The Chinese here having left their native villages to engage in trade or obtain employment under a foreign government.... They are likely to lose some of that tenacious bigotry which is so hostile to the search for truth and to become as little more liberal-minded through their intercourse with foreigners.

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In fact, the chances for successful evangelism among these more liberal-minded Chinese were better.

To sum up, owing to the unstable political situation and hostility towards foreigners in China in the years after the 1850s most of the missions viewed Hong Kong as an increasingly important station for preaching the Gospel in its own right, as well as a staging port for further missionary work in China.

3.4 The Aims and Policies of Missionary Education in Hong Kong

During the period 1859 to 1877, the aim of mission education was to propagate Faith in God.

To fulfil the aim, the policies of missionary education were to train native clergymen and provide religious education in mission schools. For the Protestants, whatever the policies adopted, first priority was given to attracting students.

However, the English Protestant missions were forced to give up the policy of training native clergymen, because of the financial difficulty and unstable enrolment in the Theological Seminaries.

As the previous period (1842-1859), the Swiss and German Missions continued to train clergymen for evangelical work among the Hakka people. Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics continued their Seminary to train Chinese clergy.

In the writer's opinion, the failure of the English Protestant missions to train native clergymen might be due to the fact that the native students in the Seminaries were interested in learning English for pragmatic reasons rather than in Theology. Hence, once these students had learned enough English for a well-paid job, they left.

In May 1875, Raimondi of the Roman Catholics clearly stated that the training of Chinese clergymen to serve in the church was still one of its educational policies.⁶⁶

Students in the Catholic Seminary had to learn Latin,⁶⁷ Philosophy, Theology and other Chinese dialects, but not English. As these subjects had no commercial value, students in the Catholic Seminary intended to be

clergymen. In the 1860s and 1870s, the average number⁶⁸ attending the Seminary was around ten. The trained clergymen would go to other parts in China or to the rural areas beyond Hong Kong to help the evangelical work.

In short, despite its irregular enrolment, the Catholic Seminary was successful in comparison with the Protestant counterparts and continued to train native clergymen.

To fulfil the aim of propagating the Faith, the policy of mission schools during the period (1859-1877), was to provide religious education in the light of Hong Kong government policies, which aimed at the provision of secular instruction in government schools, particularly at the Central School. This has been mentioned in the section on government policies in this chapter.

In reaction to government policies, the Protestant missions developed elementary education in Hong Kong in order to attract Chinese children, and hence propagate the Faith by teaching religious and popular subjects.

To attract Chinese children, the mission schools intended to reach first-rate educational standards so that their schools could continue to exist. Especially for the Protestant missions, good examination results in secular subjects and more scholars would be followed by more grants under the payment by results policy.

In 1873, the Protestant missions showed their permissive attitude and took advantage of the government

Grant-in-aid Scheme in Hong Kong. In 1876, eleven Protestant schools joined the scheme under the secular educational policy.

Under this scheme, no religious instruction could be given within the four consecutive hours in secular teaching. The students could be withdrawn by their parents during the period of religious knowledge if they disliked religious instruction.

Unlike the Protestant missions, from the beginning, the Roman Catholics had no influence on government schools. They developed their own religious education. As Ryan noted;

The Catholic standpoint was that all education demanded a moral basis, and that in its system religion was the basis of morality. No religious tests would ever be applied, but the teaching of religion could not be banned.

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The Roman Catholics opposed the Grant-in-aid Scheme initiated in 1873, refusing the offer of government grants because this scheme was said to limit the teaching of moral education that could be provided in mission schools. They insisted on following their own principles of developing religious education in the mind of every student. Raimondi was regarded as the major protagonist of this Roman Catholic policy. In 1876, St. Saviour's College, which was the only Catholic School under this Grant-in-aid Scheme, withdrew.

Above all, since many Catholics in Hong Kong came from adjacent territories, the aim of the Catholic

missions in Hong Kong was to provide religious education for the Catholics rather than for the non-Catholics.

In short, since the Protestants were more able to accommodate government policy, the development of Protestant missionary education was helped and subsidized by the government.

In this period (1859-1877), different Missions adopted different policies to education. The L.M.S. worked for the Chinese in education. This was its policy. The Report of 1824 of the L.M.S., London, stated that the Directors of this Society had opened a fund "for the establishment and support of Native Schools in immediate connection with the Society's missions, or under their⁷⁰ superintendence". Its developmental direction in native education was pronounced. After the closure of the Anglo-Chinese College, the policy of the L.M.S. was to develop only vernacular education. On the other hand, the Anglican Church was concerned with work for Europeans and Eurasians as well as Chinese.

The policy of the Basel and Berlin Missions was also to provide educational opportunities for the Chinese, but their schools usually were run on European educational lines. Generally speaking, the Basel Mission's work and education were mainly for girls and Hakka people. Its girls' school for Hakka people was run on European education lines with good examination results using the Chinese language as the medium of instruction for teaching

Chinese girls. The Berlin Mission, did the work in practical and special education.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics provided practical education for Catholics who were mostly non-Chinese. This should be ascribed to the number of Catholics who had settled in Hong Kong early. The students had to equip themselves with good English and skills so as to earn their living. Furthermore, they also stressed practical training in commercial and industrial fields as well as special care for the blind, problem children and orphans.

It is worth noting that in times of difficulty when a choice had to be made, either to teach or to preach,⁷¹ education was generally regarded as a secondary object. A fuller discussion will be made in the section on finance in this chapter.

In conclusion, during the period 1859 to 1877, in order to fulfil the aim of propagating the Faith, the policy of training native clergymen was carried on consistently by the Roman Catholics and started by the Swiss and German Missions. The Protestant missions accepted the government Grant-in-aid Scheme in 1873, for the financial reasons. They used government finance to develop high standards in their schools as a way of attracting Chinese children. In contrast, the Roman Catholics were rather dogmatic, and maintained their position on religious education.

3.5 Development of Mission Schools in Hong Kong

3.5.1 General Development of Various Missions

In general, to avoid direct competition, as well as to adapt their individual missionary policies to suit the expertise of individual missionaries, the missions in Hong Kong developed their work in different ways. But, of all the missions in Hong Kong, the L.M.S., the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics made more progress than the other missions.

The L.M.S. opened two elementary day schools for Chinese in the 1860s, a few years after it stopped educational work.⁷² Meanwhile, one girls' school maintained by donation, was independent of the general fund of the L.M.S..⁷³

In respect of the Anglican Church, in 1860, Mrs. Smith, the wife of Bishop of Victoria, set up the Diocesan Native Female Training School for the Chinese girls in Anglo-Chinese education. It soon ran into difficulty. In 1869, St. Paul's College closed. In the same year, the Diocesan Home and Orphanage was set up for children of all nationalities, especially for the Eurasian and European boys.⁷⁴ At first boys were admitted as day boys and girls as boarders. In 1870, there were 23 boys and girls.⁷⁵

In 1864, the Roman Catholics set up the St. Saviour's College as a language learning and commercial

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school. This was because they intended to train pupils to work in the commercial field in Hong Kong or if possible beyond Hong Kong. As Ryan wrote,

(In the 1870s) They (Bishop and Brother Hidulphe) were in full agreement that any school of which they had control would be for the poor as well as for the rich, and that it would train the pupils for the realities of life in Hong Kong, when greater emphasis was needed on English than on Portuguese.

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Therefore, English and commercial subjects were emphasized. The Report for 1871 referred to the high employment of St. Saviour's College's pupils who had English and commercial knowledge. ⁷⁸ "The certificate of St. Saviour's College was by that time said to be a ⁷⁹ passport into any office in Hong Kong".

As for the care of orphans, this work began in the first period (1842-1859). In the earlier period, it was mainly limited to girls taken up by the French Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres and Canossian Sisters who arrived in ⁸⁰ 1848 and ⁸¹ 1860 respectively. But with the success of the Convent School, Ambrosi and Raimondi intended to extend their work to rescue homeless boys who had lost their parents or whose parents had left in the gold rush to California and Australia etc.. It was argued that many would become young criminals or strays if no appropriate plan was made to deal with this problem. So, an industrial school was prepared by Raimondi.

In 1863, the Reformatory (later known as West Point Reformatory) was started by Raimondi to accommodate boys

who had fallen into criminal ways or were homeless. The school started with twelve boys, all of whom "had been detained by the police for one form or another of misdemeanour".⁸² In 1870, 52 Chinese boys were accommodated. The non-Chinese boys who first entered in 1876, gradually increased in number.⁸³ The subjects they learnt were mainly related to vocational training which will be discussed more in the section on curriculum in this chapter. "A diploma of the West Point Reformatory was a sure way of getting employment in any of the Colony's workshops".⁸⁴

The Canossian Sisters set up the "Hospitium of St. Joseph"⁸⁵ for problem girls in 1869. In 1874, a Canossian Sister who was sent to Hong Kong to help the blind, set up a school. According to the Hong Kong Catholic Register (July 22, 1878), it was the first (Girls') School for the blind in Asia.⁸⁶ Although the girls in these two institutions were not great in number in this period (12 and 7 respectively in 1877), their work was successful.

In the 1860s and 1870s, despite the shortage of priests, the Roman Catholic priests frequently travelled round the adjacent areas, sometimes even to Nan Tau (beyond the present New Territories) to proselytise the Gospel. This practice indicated that the tenor of their proselytism was not only limited to this British Colony, although the boundary of the apostolic Prefecture, in fact, extended far beyond the district of Hong Kong.

Of the other missions, Baxter Mission Schools were named after Miss Harriet Baxter, who came to Hong Kong in 1860 as honorary missionary of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. At first, she was unaided⁸⁷ by any Society. Her girls' schools provided a Christian elementary education for Chinese girls in day schools as well as for Chinese, Europeans and Eurasians in its⁸⁸ boarding school. After her death (June 30, 1865), the Baxter Schools were continued, first by Miss. Oxlad and then by Miss. Johnston. They carried on successful⁸⁹ educational work in these Baxter Schools.

The American Missions had already forsaken this station after the U.S.A. Church Authorities failed to support them. In 1860, the American Baptist Mission sold off its property in Hong Kong and closed the Canton station when Rev. J. W. Johnson moved to Swatow, a newly-opened⁹⁰ port. Owing to the scarcity of funds in the South, the American Baptist Mission was compelled to apply⁹¹ what funds there were in another direction. In 1872, Mrs. Johnson returned to Hong Kong after Johnson's⁹² death. In 1875, she opened a boarding school for⁹³ girls.

The American Board of Foreign Missions moved to Canton in the 1840s. In 1867, they abandoned the station⁹⁴ in Canton and moved to the north.

With regard to other missions working in Hong Kong the Swiss and German Missions, e.g. Basel Missionary

Society and Berlin Missionary Society, did some work for Girls' education. The Basel Mission was begun in 1847 in Hong Kong by Rev. Th. Hamberg and Rev. R. Lechler. From the very beginning it endeavoured to provide education for the children of all Christian converts.⁹⁵ As Stewart's Annual Report on Education for 1874 mentioned,

The Basel Mission Schoolhas been established for the education of girls whose parents belong to the Mission churches in Hongkong and on the mainland.

⁹⁶

This Girls' Boarding School was mentioned in the same Report,

The girls are simply educated for the proper discharge of their duties as wives and mothers in the humble homes from which they come, and to which they return on leaving school.

⁹⁷

It might be argued that the training of good wives and mothers was common practice in the girls' boarding mission schools. Yet, to achieve this aim, girls had to receive vernacular education. If girls learnt English, they were frequently not willing to return to their humble homes.

⁹⁸

The Basel Mission's girls' school for Hakka people was run on European educational lines with good examination results using the Chinese language as the medium of instruction for teaching Chinese girls.⁹⁹ On

the other hand, the Berlin Foundling House was established in the 1860s as an orphanage for girls.¹⁰⁰

3.5.2 Problems Affecting the Development of Mission Schools

Irregular attendance was one of the difficulties faced by mission schools in Hong Kong. Although the fluctuation in population was much less serious in the 1860s than that in the 1840s and 1850s, it still had a great influence on mission schools.

In 1859-62 an average of 12,166 people per annum moved away as coolies to San Francisco, Melbourne and the West Indies.¹⁰¹ Many went abroad to search for gold. Nowadays the Chinese still call San Francisco and Australia "Old Gold Mountains" and "New Gold Mountains" respectively. Chinese from schools went to work as unskilled labourers or as interpreters. After they had accumulated a certain amount of money, they would return to Hong Kong or to their native villages in China.

The list below shows the number of emigrants and population of Hong Kong from 1855 to 1863.

Table 4 The Number of Emigrants and Population of Hong Kong from 1855 to 1863

Year	People Leaving Hong Kong	Total population	% Out of Total
1855	14,683	72,607	20.22
1857	26,213	77,094	34.00
1859	10,217	86,941	11.75
1861	12,840	119,321	10.76
1863	7,809	124,850	6.25

Sources: (1) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong,

op.cit., p.130.

(2) Hong Kong Blue Books, 1855-1863: Population.

With reference to the above figures, despite the high percentage of emigrants (upwards of 10%) in the year 1859 and 1861, it was clear that after 1857, fewer and fewer people left the Colony. This was due to the fact that on the one hand, the gold rush bubble burst; and on the other hand, occupational conditions in Hong Kong improved a good deal in the 1860s.

Comparatively speaking, by the beginning of the 1860s, the population increased steadily and emigration declined. In fact, towards the end of the period (1859-1877), the problem of irregular attendance in mission schools became less serious.

A related problem of dialects was brought about by the fluctuation of population in Hong Kong. The Chinese people came from different parts of China, they spoke various dialects which posed a great problem to most missionaries. Even to learn one dialect was not easy for missionaries. As in the earlier period, no systematic and effective pedagogy for the missionaries was devised in this period. Consequently, the progress in dialect learning was slow and difficult for missionaries. Turner believed (March 14, 1860, Canton),

Its (the learning of Cantonese) difficulties are beyond exaggeration. The missionaries I converse with here regard it as incredible that a man should be able to preach in this dialect within twelve months.

In 1862, J. Lees of the L.M.S. went to North China through Hong Kong. He wrote (Feb 15, 1862, Hong Kong):

Since the dialectical varieties seem to be very great, and there is too an unsettled sort of feeling which necessity interferes a good deal with one's efforts.

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Furthermore, the high cost of living hindered the development of mission schools. This was due to the rapid economic growth and a proliferation of population in the 1860s which will be discussed later in this chapter.

In short, irregular attendance, the problem of dialects and high cost of living were major difficulties which hindered the development of mission schools.

3.5.3 The Number of Schools and Pupils

In 1871, there were 11 or 13 mission schools in the Colony.¹⁰⁴ In 1875, according to the lecture delivered by Eitel at St. Paul's College, the number of the native children in Protestant mission schools, was as listed below:¹⁰⁵

Missions	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils
C. of E.	6	290 *
L.M.S.	2	140
Basel	1	60 +
Berlin	1	73
Total	10	563

Notes:

* Including 4 Baxter Vernacular Schools (girls) with 160

native girls.

+ All were Hakka pupils.

The above figures did not include the non-Chinese pupils. In fact, except two of the schools in the Anglican Church, all catered only for the Chinese. In 1876, 11 Protestant mission schools with 751 pupils joined the Grant-in-aid Scheme.¹⁰⁶

With regard to the Roman Catholics, in 1874, its schools increased to 18 with 723 students, yet a large number of these were non-Chinese. If we assess success in terms of education for the Chinese, it may be argued that the Roman Catholics did no more than the Protestants although they had more students in the 1870s. The reasons are:

(1) The Catholic Mission paid more attention to the Catholics, who were mostly non-Chinese, because many dogmatic clergymen asserted that their schools were erected only for the Catholics,

(2) The Catholic Mission gave more educational opportunities to the Portuguese or non-Chinese by using English as the medium of instruction. The policy they employed in St. Saviour's College in the 1860s and 1870s, was typical. In fact, the predecessor of St. Saviour's College was a school for European or Portuguese Catholics from Macao. But eventually, new commercial classes conducted in Chinese were opened because very few Chinese could follow the English instruction, and

(3) In times of shortage of missionaries or financial difficulties, education for the Chinese was of secondary importance for the Catholics. In 1875, the La Salle Brothers arrived in Hong Kong to take charge of St. Saviour's College (later known as St. Joseph's College), but they were unable to take any Chinese pupils because the Portuguese pupils demanded all their attention.¹⁰⁷ The Portuguese in this school numbered 165 and 198 in 1876¹⁰⁸ and 1877 respectively.

3.5.4 Administration

The administrative levels of the Protestant missions were the same as those in the earlier period (1842-1859). The main policies were still formed by the authority at home (Great Britain, U.S.A., Switzerland or Germany). The local Committees formed by missionaries and a few native deacons adopted the policies.

Yet, the number of missionary authorities and committee members responsible for policy adoption was greater than before. Native Christians increased in number and helped the development of mission work. These Protestant Missionary Committees generally followed the principal policies established at home, particularly when they needed financial help from their own Society.

In respect of policy making, a District Committee could, to a large extent, decide and resolve local

affairs. Yet, in respect of the main policy and the construction of buildings, as well as recruiting members, the missionaries had still to consult the authority at home.

The L.M.S. adopted a policy of the self-support. This policy was first started in the West Indies in 1867. The policy adopted was that,

steady efforts shall be made to place all the churches under the pastoral charge of suitable native ministers....all the local and incidental expenses of the mission shall henceforth be entirely defrayed by the native churches.

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This policy was to pass the authority to the hands of natives. Eventually, in 1870, the native church of the L.M.S. in Hong Kong ran itself and was financially independent. In 1876, "The Independent Chinese Church of Hong Kong" adopted a constitution which aimed to be self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating. In fact, from the letters of the missionaries of the L.M.S. in the 1870s, it is evident that the native clergymen could use the subscriptions of the native church as they saw fit, to deal with evangelical work.

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The Anglican Church also experienced changes in the people who were able to adopt policy. In 1863, Lo Sam-Yuen, formerly a teacher in St. Paul's College, was the first Chinese ordained as a deacon of the Anglican Church. In 1872, the Diocese was divided into two, i.e. Victoria and North China, mainly "because of the growth of Anglicanism in Shanghai and Ningpo" and the

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rapid evangelical development of Hong Kong. Consequently, the Diocese of Victoria was made smaller, comprising Hong Kong, China South of latitude 28° North and Japan.¹¹³ Yet, the authority of the two Bishops was pronounced by the Archbishop to be no different from that of the former Bishop of Victoria.¹¹⁴ Bishop Burdon (1874-1897) and his successors as Bishop of Victoria, "were appointed by the Anglican Church alone and not by the State".¹¹⁵

In the writer's opinion, the ordination of a Chinese deacon showed signs of involving natives in the process of policy adoption. Moreover, it might be argued that the Bishop of Victoria, when the Diocese of Victoria became smaller, could spend more time and effort on developing evangelical work in Hong Kong.

Generally, the missionaries supervised the implementation of policy in their mission schools. In many cases, the missionaries taught the Scriptures and Western subjects. From 1873 on, under the Grant-in-aid Scheme, the missionaries also acted as school managers, being responsible for the affairs of the grant-in-aid schools. These school managers were responsible for correspondence with the government, for signing the Receipt for the grant, and for furnishing all Returns required by the Government.¹¹⁶ Hence, the missionaries and the native teachers implemented the policies which were adopted by the local committees of individual missions.

As for the Roman Catholic Church, the expansion in the number of people responsible for the adoption of policy was obvious. The stable provision of missionaries by the Institute of the Foreign Missions of Milan in 1874¹¹⁷ and the promotion of Raimondi as Bishop of the Apostolic Vicariate of Hong Kong, which have been discussed earlier in this chapter, explain the increased authority of the Roman Catholic Mission in Hong Kong.

Furthermore, more Chinese priests joined the District Committee involved in the adoption of policy formulated in Europe. For example, the "Synodus Vicariatus Hongkonensis Habita in Insula de Hong Kong, Anno 1875" recorded that five Chinese priests were among the twelve missionaries¹¹⁸ who attended the meeting.

In short during the period 1859 to 1877 the missionaries gained increased independence from their home societies. This was partly the result of policy decisions made by the home society, as in the case of the L.M.S., but partly the natural result of increasing prosperity in Hong Kong and increasing participation by native missionaries. To a limited extent the influence of these developments can be seen even in the case of the Roman Catholics.

3.5.5 Finance

General Conditions

During the period 1859 to 1873, although some of the missionaries were confident in evangelising in Hong Kong, their pecuniary embarrassment made their work difficult. To keep down expenses, preaching and teaching were practised in the same building.¹¹⁹ This had been the practice in the period of 1842 to 1859. The size and facilities of classrooms were not good. Hence, teaching was frequently carried out in the preaching rooms or chapels which catered for Day Schools as well as for preaching the Gospel in the evenings and Sundays. For instance, the boys' schools of the L.M.S. were located in two of their chapels, i.e. the Tai Ping Shan Chapel and Wan Tsai Chapel,¹²⁰ from 1862 onwards. St. Stephen's Church School of the C.M.S. was in a similar situation.

Yet, as mentioned in the section on policy of the mission schools in this chapter, when financial problems arose, teaching was regarded as secondary importance by both native deacons and missionaries. This can be seen from Eitel's Report of the L.M.S. for 1875 (Hong Kong and Poklo). He wrote,

....we adopted their (native deacons') suggestions, gave up the proposed girls-school, located the preachers one in each of the chapels and are now waiting an opportunity to open a girls-school in a more favourable locality provided we can find the means to rent a house for the purpose.

¹²¹

Thus, when financial problems could not be solved, teaching was frequently given up under the competitive demand for expansion in respect of preaching and teaching.

In fact, in the second half of this period (1859-77), the number of Chinese attracted to the church and mission school increased dramatically. Eitel's Report for 1875 made the difficulties clear;

The fact is, all our chapels are too small now and ought to be enlarged so as to afford sufficient accommodation for both preaching and teaching work, or else we must withdraw our schools altogether from the chapels or close them for want of funds to defray the rental of suitable localities.

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So, there was a need to expand the chapels and schools, but nothing could be done because of financial constraints.

The high cost of living was another heavy financial burden. This was caused by the rapid economic progress in Hong Kong and political instability in China followed by a great influx of migrants from China. As Lees described (Feb 15, 1862, Hong Kong) the condition,

It is a very serious matter to find that prices here are from 3 to 6 fold what they are at home.

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Thus financial problem prevented the expansion of education in mission schools.

3.5.5.1 (a) 1859-1873

Grants from Missionary Societies

The missions, with no government grants, got funds by different means. Certainly, funds from their own Society at home were crucial. Some of the Societies in Hong Kong however got insufficient funding from home due to the

individual mission's policy and lack of financial sources.

The American Board of Missions and the American Baptist Mission were hampered by the limited funds from home. Therefore, they tried to find more appropriate places in China for their evangelical work.

Unlike the Protestant Missions, the Roman Catholics still received subscriptions from the Missions in France as in the period of 1842 to 1859.

Government Assistance

Ever before adopting the grant-in-aid policy in 1873, grants from the Hong Kong government were still very carefully controlled in order to avoid their use for religious instruction.

An example of government financial assistance was related to the Reformatory of the Roman Catholics. In 1863, Robinson offered a piece of land for the Reformatory. While the Reformatory was being built in 1863, a Chinese house not far from the Mission House served as a beginning of the Reformatory which accommodated twelve boys. In 1863, HK\$2 per person per month was given from the court, and in 1869 HK\$50 per month was offered by the government in recognition of the Reformatory's success in correctional services.¹²⁴ In 1869, MacDonnell, the Hong Kong Governor, explained that the grants given to the Reformatory were simply due to the great number of destitute children, for whom the

government would otherwise have to spend four times the amount of public funds to support them in government schools.¹²⁵ It was clear that the government grants were not used for religious purpose but for social welfare.

In short, before 1873, government grants were only occasionally made to mission schools, and in no way related to religious activities.

Other Financial Assistance from Abroad and Local People

Apart from funds from European merchants from home, subscriptions from friends and families of the missionaries were a financial source as in the preceding period (1842-1859).

In addition, the former scholars of the mission schools, after their employment, subscribed regularly to the societies in order to show their own sense of obligation and to extend the advantages of studying in mission schools more widely to others.¹²⁶ Furthermore, fund raising for any educational plan was supported by the Chinese Compradores (in lucrative posts) who had been educated and secured their knowledge of English in mission schools.

Local merchants were still major financial supporters of mission schools. As a matter of fact, the business depression in Hong Kong, as well as in the Far East generally, in the 1860s put a number of companies out of business. "By February, 1867, of eleven banks operating

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in the Colony, only five remained". The failure of some firms caused the closure of the schools. The failure of Dent & Co. was one of the examples caused the closure of St. Paul's College in 1867 because of the lack of funds. The Morrison Education Society which formerly supported mission schools in the treaty ports, was disbanded in 1869 for the same reason. This indirectly indicated that in the 1860s local European merchants still acted as the main supporters of the running of mission schools. Hence, in the late 1860s, the financial difficulties faced by the mission schools were pronounced.

From 1870 onwards, subscriptions were a major means of financial support particularly in times of good economic progress. Members of the Church gave more money because Hong Kong was enjoying better days. As Eitel's Report for 1871 (Hong Kong) stated,

Compared with the Churches of other missions our members present the aspect of belonging in the whole to a high class in society than what one is accustomed to see at other stations in China.

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Other sources of financial support

Fees charged in some schools for Europeans were a financial resource. This had been the case in the previous period (1842-1859) for the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Schools because many Europeans were educated in their schools.

Among the Roman Catholic Missions, travelling beyond Hong Kong to raise money was occasionally done by the

Fathers. The building of St. Saviour's College was a typical case. In 1864, St. Saviour's College was built largely with funds collected by Fr. Borgazzi in the Philippines.¹²⁹

In the 1860s, the Reformatory for juvenile delinquents received \$30 monthly in order to cover the running expenses by selling handicraft products.¹³⁰ This was possible because Hong Kong was more prosperous. At times, borrowing money was a way to deal with financial problem. In 1869, Raimondi went to the North for the purpose of borrowing money from another Vicar Apostolic in China.¹³¹ In the 1870s, rents and selling property were also a financial means to support the missions as recorded in Raimondi's Report.¹³²

In general, the financial situation improved a little compared with the former period (1842-1859). The Catholic Missions had more financial resources than the Protestant Missions did.

(b) 1873-1877

During the period 1873 to 1877, the Government Grant-in-aid Scheme helped the development of mission schools a great deal. The other financial resources for the mission schools remained the same as in the years of 1859 to 1873.

Mission schools also gained financial support from the local Chinese as their financial power became greater. For instance, Eitel of the L.M.S. wanted to raise money

(roughly about \$2500) in 1876 to set up the school and chapel. He wrote to his society,

I began to raise a subscription among the Chinese and Chinese only.

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This confidence in Chinese support was well founded.

Government Grant

In 1873, schools were classified into 5 classes for eligibility for grant purposes. These schools had to satisfy the conditions set up by the government, based on the number of scholars who passed examinations in secular subjects, the class of school and the average attendance of scholars.¹³⁴ As Eitel (Jan 21, 1875, Hong Kong) stated,

The grant by government depends upon the qualification and exertion of teachers and the attendance of the pupils.

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One-fourth of the total grant made to the school would be handed to the teacher as a personal payment.¹³⁶ With the help of government grant, the number of Grant-in-aid mission schools increased from 6 in 1873 to 14 by 1877. The grants to schools increased to HK\$3752.92 in 1877.¹³⁷

Grants for Building

Meanwhile, small amounts of money for school buildings and rent-free land were frequently offered to the mission schools. As Eitel wrote (Sept 23, 1876, Hong

Kong),

I know I would get \$500 from the government as a free grant under the grant-in-aid scheme for the school building.

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In fact, Governors during the period (1859-1877) occasionally gave assistance to mission schools. In the same letter Eitel continued;

The Governor told me he would give \$50 (for the school building).

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In short, government grants helped only those schools under the Grant-in-aid Scheme. The Catholic schools and inefficient schools got no government grant. The grants were generally not enough to cover the costs of setting up a mission school in the first instance. So, generally speaking, the missions still had to rely on their own efforts to develop or maintain mission schools.

3.5.6 Curriculum of Mission Schools

3.5.6.1 (a) 1859-1873

Before the Grant-in-aid Scheme was introduced in 1873, there was no single curriculum for mission schools. In fact, as in the previous period (1842-1859), Chinese and Scripture were in the curriculum of the elementary education for Chinese pupils. Other subjects, such as English, Arithmetic, Geography and the like, were taught in different schools.

The curriculum of the Catholic schools was different

since European Catholics were enrolled in these schools. In fact, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian, English and Chinese were taught, since the Catholics came from different countries. Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Book-keeping, History, Geography, Vocal and Instrumental Music and Art were added to the curriculum in St. Saviour's College.¹⁴⁰ In the Seminary of the Roman Catholics, Latin, Philosophy and Theology were the principal subjects learnt by scholars. In the Reformatory of the Roman Catholics, as an industrial school, industrial subjects, including shoe-making, carpentry and tailoring, were¹⁴¹ taught.

3.5.6.2 (b) 1873-1877

The curriculum, during the period 1873 to 1877, can be inferred hints from the Grant-in-aid Scheme first introduced in 1873. Under the Scheme, five classes of schools were categorized by the government in Hong Kong, depending on the curriculum and the medium of¹⁴² instruction:

Class I -- Schools in which Chinese education was given.

Class II -- Schools in which a Chinese education was given, with English in addition.

Class III -- Schools in which a European education was given in the Chinese language.

Class IV -- Schools in which a European education was given in a European language.

Class V -- Schools in which a European education was given in a European language, with Chinese in addition.

During the period 1873 to 1877, mission schools¹⁴³ joined only Class I, III and IV. Six standards (levels, grades or years) were classified in schools. But, not all schools had students in the sixth standard.

Chinese was a common core subject, except in schools for English or European students (schools in Class IV). The study of Chinese included the Chinese Primers and the Four Books. Elementary Chinese Classics were taught because a basic knowledge of Chinese was needed by students wanting to enter the Preparatory Class of Central school.

In Class I, Chinese was required for reading, writing, repetition, explanation and composition in different levels of the Examination. However, for other Classes, Chinese was required only for reading, writing or¹⁴⁴ explanation.

There was an argument over the Chinese textbooks, which were criticized for not being purely secular as they comprised of Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist doctrines. In 1873, the "School Book Committee" was set up by the Hong Kong government to produce a set of Chinese books containing various religious teachings as the basis of moral teaching. Yet, this set of books was not widely used by schools.

Some geography was taught in higher standards of all

schools following either Chinese or European educational lines.

The curriculum along Western lines followed the British curriculum in the 19th century. History and Arithmetic were added to the curriculum. Arithmetic was taught in every standard, but History was taught only in the highest one or two standards.

English was taught mainly in the schools of Class IV and V. Reading, writing and grammar were to be examined. Yet, generally, English was not taught in girls' schools. This was because Hong Kong was, at that time, still a male-dominated society. It was felt that English was not needed if a woman did not have to work.

Needlework was included in the curriculum of girls' schools because a special grant was given to this subject according to different levels of competence (fair, good or very good).¹⁴⁵ This meant the better the result of each girl was, the more grant the school would obtain. Therefore, more effort was required in girls' schools.

Generally speaking, the subjects taught in Girls' boarding schools, such as that of the Basel Mission, were of a practical kind. More housework was taught in girls' boarding schools after school hours in accordance with the aims of girls' boarding schools. As the Annual Report on Education for 1874 stated,

(the Basel Mission School) After school hours, they are trained in all the branches of Chinese domestic economy, including spinning, sewing, knitting, weaving and cooking.

Most of the Protestant schools joined the Grant-in-aid Scheme. Hence, subjects taught in elementary education mainly followed the curriculum designed by the Government so as to obtain good results and higher grants. Emphasis was placed on the three R's, viz., reading, writing and arithmetic. Arithmetic was not a common subject in mission schools run along Chinese education lines. Instead only Chinese and Geography were included in the curriculum.

In addition, scripture was taught after the four consecutive hours of secular education although it was not a compulsory subject under the Grant-in-aid system.

For some schools of higher education and commercial or industrial schools, the subjects varied, particularly those schools which did not join the Grant-in-aid Scheme. The Roman Catholic Mission Schools were a case in point.

The Roman Catholics vehemently opposed the grant system which aimed to foster secular education. Only one Catholic school, St. Saviour's College which was set up in 1864, joined the scheme during the period 1873 to 1876. The curriculum of these schools followed what had been taught from 1859 to 1873, as mentioned in the beginning of this section. As for the Seminary, there was no change in its curriculum. In 1877, printing and book-binding were added to the curriculum in the Reformatory.

In short, Chinese was still a common core subject after the introduction of the Grant-in-aid Scheme except

in schools in Class IV. The subjects taught were comparatively more wide ranging after 1873. For grant-in-aid schools, the curriculum was broadly dictated by the grants. Very often, the government could indirectly control the subjects taught and the level at which they were introduced through payment by results. Above all, the Grant-in-aid Scheme aimed to foster a secular curriculum.

3.5.7 Qualification of the teachers

General Conditions

A lack of teachers still existed.

With regard to the teachers' qualification, no qualification was required by the government. There was no government teacher training school planned nor any government arrangements for the training of teachers. Even in schools under the Grant-in-aid Scheme, only the vague notion that "the master is competent"¹⁴⁸ was one of the conditions of joining.

Faced with this problem, in the late 1860s, Stewart, the Headmaster of the Central School, intended to "secure the best pupils of the Central School as teachers, but most of its students left early, attracted by posts¹⁴⁹ obtainable outside".

During the period 1859 to 1877, all the mission schools were faced with a similar problem. They were

unable to establish any systematic teacher training. As Eitel wrote (Oct 4, 1872, Hong Kong);

The greatest defect of our Mission here is the want of a training school that would supply us with a stall of well-taught teachers and preachers.

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The Education Report for 1874 still indicated the difficulty of erecting a teacher training school,

The question of a Training School for teachers is a very difficult one for Hongkong.

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Stewart, the Inspector of Schools, outlined the difficulties of converting schools from running on Chinese to European educational lines, in the Annual Report on Education 1875 (Hong Kong),

The great obstacle at present is the want of qualified teachers and the increased expenditure which a change would involve.

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Towards the end of the period (1859-1877), some teacher training was provided in the mission schools of both the Protestants and Roman Catholics though it was carried out in only a few schools with individual missionaries taking up this responsibility. For instance, Eitel's Report for 1877 (Hong Kong) presented some details of this informal teacher training,

Miss. Rowe has been all last year training a few women at her own expense for the teaching work they have since undertaken.

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In short, during the period 1859 to 1877, there was a serious shortage of qualified teachers due to the absence of formal teacher training. As in the absence of any formal training, teachers came from various sources, which

will be described below.

3.5.7.1 Catechists and Missionaries as Teachers

As in the earlier period (1842-1859), native teachers were also the preachers or pastors in the churches. This was frequently the case to cut down the expenses in both the Protestant and Catholic Missions. Ryan noted that these conditions persisted in some Catholic village schools in the 1860s;

Catechists who were also school teachers acted as deputies for the priests.

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Missionaries sometimes acted, not only as managers of schools, but also as teachers. As Stewart's Annual Report on Education for 1874 depicted the situation, the high standard of the Basel Mission School was due to its strong teaching power. He wrote,

In addition to the Chinese Master and his assistant, the Revd. Mr. Loëcher and Mrs. Loëcher have their daily duties as teachers during all school hours.

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3.5.7.2 Lady Teachers

Since lady missionaries came comparatively late to Hong Kong and literate Chinese females were scarce, lady teachers were few in number in the missions. Therefore, the missionaries' wives and the nuns were still the majority. The number of lady missionaries sent by missionary societies generally increased in comparison with the previous period (1842-1859), particularly in the

case of the Roman Catholics.

Nevertheless, this was not the case for the L.M.S.. After Mrs. Chalmers left Hong Kong in 1857, the women's work, except for a short period, ceased for twenty years due to the lack of female missionaries, until Miss. S. J. Rowe's arrival in 1876.¹⁵⁶ Rowe who was formerly a lady missionary of the Methodist Missionary Society in Canton, was the first lady missionary of the L.M.S. sent to South China.¹⁵⁷ This showed the serious problem of the lack of lady missionaries in some of the Protestant missionary societies. Therefore, in these circumstances, female education was mainly conducted by the male missionaries in the L.M.S..

Moreover, native female teachers were not easily found since the majority of Chinese females were illiterate. So the training of native female teachers was a matter of great urgency.

Female teachers appeared gradually after they were educated in mission schools. For instance, after Miss Baxter's death in 1865, her work in the schools was carried on by ladies trained in her own schools.¹⁵⁸

Meanwhile, the wives or daughters of the native pastors still made a major contribution to the teaching in girls' schools, particularly the widows who could devote more time and effort to the work of girls' boarding schools or orphanages.

Undoubtedly, the shortage of Chinese female teachers

was a restriction on female education. The lack of success of female education was explained, though not thoroughly, by Turner (Feb 7, 1870, Hong Kong),

....owing I think partly to Chinese indifference to female education, partly to some personal unpopularity of the mistress.

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3.5.7.3 Past Students as Teachers

Chinese Christian teachers were most suited to become teachers. They mostly came from early mission schools in or beyond Hong Kong. ¹⁶⁰ As a matter of fact, some of them were educated in the mission schools situated near Hong Kong, i.e. in the Treaty Ports in China (e.g., the ¹⁶¹ Wesleyan School in Canton) or in some South East Asian countries. These teachers, with a knowledge of religion, were regarded as ideal from the viewpoint of the missions because they could easily carry out the policy of the missions and propagate the Faith of God.

3.5.7.4 Teachers from Abroad for Special Subjects

The Roman Catholics put more effort into developing the industrial and commercial education and educating Europeans, particularly the Portuguese. However, teachers in these fields were difficult to find.

For the Portuguese language, Portuguese teachers were employed in the Colony or came from Macao. But, teachers who spoke other European languages, or had industrial or commercial expertise were rarely found in

Hong Kong.

During the 1860s and 1870s, Raimondi frequently went abroad to get appropriately experienced men to teach in and take charge of the schools. Yet, after his failure to get a Congregation of Brothers for Hong Kong in his journey round Europe in 1861, Raimondi had to resort to the next best alternative by looking for appropriate lay teachers in Europe. So, he changed his plan. As Ryan wrote,

He (Father Raimondi) tried to recruit young educated Catholic laymen who would come to Hong Kong and serve the mission as teachers.

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For the industrial school for the training of Chinese orphan boys, instructors of practical subjects were found outside Hong Kong by Raimondi. Ryan continued;

....he tried next to find in Italy some tailors and carpenters who would be ready to join him.

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In 1872, Raimondi went to Singapore and Europe to find suitable teachers for the development of St.

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Saviour's College in commercial subjects. This showed the great demand for foreign teachers in practical education in the Roman Catholic schools.

To sum up, during the period (1859-1877), the shortage of qualified teachers was serious. However, towards the end of this period, the problem was alleviated somewhat by attempts to provide informal teacher training in some missions.

3.5.8 Reactions of Chinese Parents

3.5.8.1 Reaction to Mission Schools

The Chinese heathen parents usually did not want their children in mission schools. Only the poor, the Christians or those with pragmatic reasons sent their children to mission schools. Some Chinese parents would rather not send their children to school at all, if they could not afford to send their children to a traditional Chinese school. In fact, this was one reason why in 1875, the proportion of uneducated children was more than 70% (9,300 children between 6-16 years old were uneducated out of 13,100).¹⁶⁵

For political reasons, some Chinese avoided contact with foreigners because of the hostility between the Chinese government and Europeans. Thus, mission schools were not fully supported by the Chinese.

3.5.8.2 Reaction to the Curriculum

During the period 1859 to 1877, Chinese parents still preferred their children to learn Chinese, especially in elementary schools, because of their traditional views and the regulation concerning admission to the Government Central School. People aimed to enter this school in order to learn English as well. So, even though parents for pragmatic reasons sent their children to this school, elementary Chinese knowledge was still required for their admission.

In 1875, 9 mission schools joined the Grant-in-aid Scheme. With the exception of two, all the schools taught in Chinese without studying the English language. 478 scholars were enrolled in these seven schools. The other two schools enrolled 201 scholars, many of whom were non-Chinese.¹⁶⁶ So the English language was thus taught. This clearly shows that mission schools providing vernacular education were generally accepted.

According to Eitel's lecture on "The Protestant Missions of Hongkong" delivered at St. Paul's College in 1875, of ten Protestant day schools, "with the exception of St. Paul's College all these schools confine themselves to giving a simple Christian education in the vernacular".¹⁶⁷

It is worth noting that scripture teaching was not a major impediment to the enrolment of scholars in mission schools. In fact, many cases showed that more students were enrolled in mission schools than in secular schools.

Stewart preferred schools on European educational lines. In 1876, he stated,

One good school in Class III (schools in which a European education was given in the Chinese language) would be worth half a dozen in Class I (schools in which a Chinese education was given), as regards both in religious and secular portions of the education....

¹⁶⁸

Yet, the mission schools mostly clung to the Chinese education lines which Chinese parents preferred. In the writer's opinion, parental preference for Chinese

education accounts for the negligible number of Class III schools. Until 1877, only one out of twelve schools was in Class III under the Grant-in-aid Scheme. This exception was a girls' school run by the Basel Missionary Society. The school aimed to educate Chinese Christians' daughters to be good wives and mothers on European educational lines using Chinese as the medium of teaching.

For Chinese boys, parents preferred that they should study the Classics and learn under the traditional teaching methodology. Should they want to learn English, they preferred to study in the government Central School or Anglo-Chinese mission schools.

If the Chinese parents had supported the schools in Classes II, III and IV, they could have survived despite the high expenses. Eitel explained the high cost of these schools,

All the schools in Classes II, III and IV are expensive schools because the schools require, either partly or wholly, a European staff and are nearly all located in European buildings costing higher rents.

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As for English learning, the Chinese thought it useful. However, irregular attendance of students made the English mission schools difficult to run because students left school at any time after they had found jobs. In 1874, the year after the beginning of the Grant-in-aid Scheme, 9 mission schools were included. Among these, two in which English was taught, viz., the Victoria Boys' School and St. Saviour's Day School, were faced with

the problem of irregular attendance. The rest of the mission schools in which no foreign language was taught, had a more stable attendance.

The reason for irregular attendance, given by the manager of St. Saviour's Day School, was the poverty of the children.¹⁷⁰ Yet, as the writer has previously explained, most of the children of mission schools came from poor families in this period. After students had learnt enough English to find a good job, they left school. This frequently happened in mission schools in which English was taught. In 1870, the Principal of St. Saviour's College complained that the Chinese did not study for the sake of knowledge but for the sake of dollars.¹⁷¹ So, in the writer's opinion, this irregular attendance was not only related to poverty, but also, probably, related to the economic reasons for learning English. Thus it is clear that the Chinese regarded learning Chinese or/and English language as an end but not a means of education.

3.5.8.3 Reaction to Girls' Education

Little attention was paid to English in the education of Chinese girls because of the conservative view taken of girls. Parents prevented their girls from having access to English and Western knowledge.

In the opinion of the Chinese, English ideas could not efface or supersede those of the Chinese. For

instance, in 1860, the Diocesan Native Female Training School, an English school for Chinese girls was set up by Smith's wife, "but the experiment of educating Chinese girls in English proved to be a blunder and had to be dropped, since most of them became mistresses of Europeans".¹⁷² Hence, it was believed that the Chinese girls might act contrary to Chinese morality, if they were educated in English without being imbued Chinese moral ideas.

Furthermore, the Chinese parents opposed English education for their girls because English, having no commercial use for girls, only lowered their morality.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, in general, financial conditions improved on the development of mission schools because of the Government Grant-in-aid Scheme, and the economic prosperity of Hong Kong (although this also affected rents and costs adversely). Because of these improvements and the more favourable political climate of Hong Kong compared with China, particularly after the Tai Ping Rebellion, by the end of this period (1859-1877) both the Protestant and Catholic missions gradually viewed Hong Kong as a place where they could develop their missionary work.

Meanwhile, they were unwilling to give up missionary work in China. Consequently, they did not develop mission schools in Hong Kong fully.

However, many of the obstacles to missionary education noted in the earlier period persisted, notably the shortage of qualified teachers and the traditional attitudes of parents. This meant that although mission schools expanded, they still only catered for the minority of children, and those mainly came from poor families.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

- (1) G. B. Endacott, A Biographical Sketch -- Book of Early Hong Kong, Singapore, Eastern University Press, 1962, pp.45-51.
- (2) E. J. Eitel, "Material", op.cit., p. 341.
- (3) J. Y. L. Chung, op.cit., p.7.
- (4) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1861, pp.106-8.
- (5) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.392.
- (6) From Legge's letters written in the 1840s, his idea that education was for propagating Christianity was clearly shown. (See Note 7)
- (7) CWM Archives, G4, Box4, Legge's letter (Jan 13, 1845, Hong Kong):

I would be a preacher whose object and study is preaching, while teaching should only be an engagement not involving responsibility or employing much time -- or I would be a teacher whose object and study, was by his devotion to his work, to win the souls of his pupils.
- (8) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.408.
- (9) Ibid., p.466.
- (10) Ibid., p.467.
- (11) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.228.
- (12) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1868.
- (13) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.392.
- (14) "Report of the Headmaster and Inspector of Schools for 1866", Hong Kong Government Gazette 1867.
- (15) Ibid., p.510.
- (16) China Mail, Jan 29, 1875.
- (17) Hong Kong Daily Press, Jan 18, 1876.
- (18) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1875, p.62.
- (19) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.466.

- (20) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1866.
- (21) E. A. Irving, op.cit., p.3.
- (22) "Educational Report for 1874", Hong Kong Administrative Report 1875.
- (23) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.165.
- (24) Ibid.
- (25) China Mail, Feb 11, 1874.
- (26) See Grant-in-aid Code 1873.
- (27) E. A. Irving, "The System of Education in Hongkong" in British Board of Education (ed.), Imperial Education Conference Papers: Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies Not Possessing Responsible Government, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1915, p.13.
- (28) Dr. Legge's Scheme in Hong Kong Government Gazette 1861, p.107.
- (29) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1866.
- (30) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.39.
- (31) CWM archives: G4, Box6.
- (32) The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macao 1849-1974, op.cit., p.4.
- (33) Church Missionary Record 1863, p.317.
- (34) "The Opportunity for such an experiment on the Island of Hong Kong", in the Church Missionary Intelligencer 1869.
- (35) Ibid.
- (36) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.9.
- (37) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.62-3.
- (38) Ibid., p.63. The Institute of the Foreign Missions of Milan has been known as the "Pontifical Institute of Foreign Missions" (P.I.M.E.) since 1926.
- (39) In 1872, the Diocese of North China was set up. From that year the northern part, from latitude 28°

North, was separated from the Diocese of Victoria.

- (40) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.5-7.
- (41) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.47.
- (42) H. E. Legge, James Legge: Missionary and Scholar, London, The Religious Tract Society, 1905, p.240.
- (43) Refer to The Church Missionary Intelligencer 1872, p.23. An examination was made in Mr. Williamson's "Journey in North China".
- (44) Chou, Ku-cheng, Chung-kuo tung-shih (General History of China), 2 vols, Chung King, Kai-ming shu-chu, 1941, p.1043.
- (45) CMW Archives: G4, Box 6, Mr. R. H. Graves' letter (Aug 8, 1867, Canton).
- (46) Mr. Williamson's papers (April 6, 1872) "Journey in North China", p.viii, in the Church Missionary Intelligencer 1872, p.25.
- (47) Ibid.
- (48) Many missionary records revealed this sense, for example, a letter from the Bishop of Victoria, C. R. Alford (see Church Missionary Intelligencer 1869) indicated this view and planned their future evangelical development in Hong Kong.
- (49) E.J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.346.
- (50) In 1692, an edict was passed by the Emperor Kang-he, granting toleration to Christianity as full as that enjoyed by Buddhism, but in 1723, missionaries were banished to Macao.
- (51) Church Missionary Record 1872, p.348.
- (52) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1862, Rev. W. H. Collins' letter (Oct 24, 1861, Shanghai).
- (53) CWM Archives: G4, Box 5, J. Cleland's letter (Sept 27, 1849, Canton).
- (54) G. Cousin, op.cit., p.8.
- (55) "North-China Herald" (Sept 5, 1857), Church Missionary Record, p.350.
- (56) CWM Archives: G4, Box 6, Wong Fun's letter (July 19, 1858, Macao).

- (57) CWM Archives: G4, Box 6.
- (58) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Report for 1871, Hong Kong, Eitel's letter to English Consul in Canton (Feb 8, 1872).
- (59) CWM Archives: G4, Box4, Legge's letter (June 28, 1845, Hong Kong). Also, G4, Box 4, W. Gillespie's letter (Dec 27, 1845, Hong Kong).
- (60) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box 1.
- (61) C. T. Smith, "The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong", Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol.11(1971), pp.90-3.
- (62) Hao Yen-ping, The Comprador in Nineteenth-Century China: Bridge between East and West, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1970, p.49.
- (63) CWM Archives: G4, Box 6, July 23, 1861.
- (64) Kuang-tung wen-wu chan-lan hui (ed.), Kuang-tung wen-wu (The Culture and Relics of Kwangtung), Hong Kong, Chung-kuo wen-hua hsieh-chin-hui, 1941, Chapter 3.
- (65) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, F. S. Turner's Report for 1867 (Hong Kong).
- (66) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.88.
- (67) Ibid., p.94.
- (68) Ibid.
- (69) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.76.
- (70) R. Lovett, op.cit., vol.2, p.647.
- (71) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box 1.
- (72) CWM Archives: G4, Box 6, Legge's letters.
- (73) CWM Archives: G4, Box 6, F. Turner's Committee Minutes (July 9, 1868, Hong Kong).
- (74) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., pp.156-7.
- (75) Ibid., p.156.
- (76) The aim was written in the Regulations of the St. Saviour's College. For details, see Fr. Ticozzi,

- op.cit., pp.104-5.
- (77) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.79.
- (78) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.105-6.
- (79) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.36.
- (80) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.98.
- (81) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.30.
- (82) Ibid., p.36.
- (83) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.114-5.
- (84) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.36.
- (85) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.125.
- (86) Ibid., p.123.
- (87) China Mail, Dec 4, 1875.
- (88) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.11.
- (89) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.465.
- (90) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.9.
- (91) CWM Archives: G4, Box 6, F. Turner's letter (Dec 12, 1862, Canton).
- (92) Baptist Press, op.cit., p.72.
- (93) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.7.
- (94) CWM Archives: G4, Box 6, F. Turner's letter (Oct 28, 1867, Hong Kong)
- (95) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.9.
- (96) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1875.
- (97) Ibid.
- (98) Refer to the lecture delivered by E. J. Eitel at St. Paul's College, printed in the China Mail on Dec 4, 1875.
- (99) "Hong Kong Annual Report on Education for 1875", Hong Kong Government Gazette 1876.
- (100) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.391.

- (101) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., P.387.
- (102) CWM Archives: G4, Turner's letter (March 14, 1860, Hong Kong).
- (103) CWM Archives: G2, Box 1.
- (104) According to the "Report of the Committee on Education" in the Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902, there were 11 mission schools in 1871. This differs from Ryan's estimate, which states 13 mission schools in the same year.
- (105) China Mail, Dec 4, 1875.
- (106) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1876.
- (107) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.79.
- (108) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.175.
- (109) R. Lovett, op.cit., p.389.
- (110) C. T. Smith, Chinese Christians, op.cit., p.183, and also Wong Chi-suen, To-tsai-hui-tong shih (History of To Tsai Church -- The First Independent Church of China), Hong Kong, Chinese Christian Literature Council, 1986, p.10.
- (111) J. Y. L. Chung, op.cit., pp.8-9.
- (112) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.121.
- (113) Ibid.
- (114) J. Y. L. Chung, op.cit., p.12.
- (115) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.159.
- (116) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1874.
- (117) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.87-9.
- (118) Ibid., pp.84-6.
- (119) CWM Archives: South China-- G4, Eitel's letter (Sept 23, 1876, Hong Kong).
- (120) CWM Archives: G4, Box6, Legge's letter (Feb 24, 1864, Hong Kong).
- (121) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Eitel's Hong

Kong and Poklo Annual Report for 1875.

- (122) Ibid.
- (123) CWM Archives: North China-- G2, Box1.
- (124) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.113-7.
- (125) Ibid., p.114.
- (126) CWM Archives: G4 Box5, Legge's letter (Jan 13, 1860, Hong Kong).
- (127) G. B. Endacott, op.cit., p.146.
- (128) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box1, Eitel's Report for 1871, Hong Kong.
- (129) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.34.
- (130) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.114.
- (131) Ibid., p.75.
- (132) Ibid.
- (133) CWM Archives: G4, Eitel's letter (Sept 23, 1876, Hong Kong).
- (134) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1873.
- (135) CWM Archives: South China-- Box8.
- (136) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1873: Government Notification No. 71.
- (137) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1878.
- (138) CWM Archives: South China-- Box8, Eitel's letter.
- (139) Ibid.
- (140) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.104-5, and also T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.34.
- (141) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.113-6.
- (142) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1873.
- (143) For details, see Reports on Education for 1873-77.
- (144) "Annual Report on Education for 1874", Hong Kong Government Gazette 1875.

- (145) Ibid.
- (146) Ibid.
- (147) Ticozzi, op.cit., pp.113-6.
- (148) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1873: Government Notification No. 71.
- (149) G. B. Endacott, op.cit., p.229.
- (150) CWM Archives: G4, Box7.
- (151) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1875.
- (152) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1876.
- (153) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Eitel's Report for 1877.
- (154) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.43.
- (155) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1875.
- (156) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.5.
- (157) R. Lovett, op.cit., Appendix I.
- (158) E. J. Eitel, "The Protestant Missions of Hongkong", op.cit..
- (159) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box1.
- (160) CWM Archives: G4 Box6, Legge's letter (Feb 14, 1860, Hong Kong).
- (161) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1876, p.554, Rev. Hutchinson's letter.
- (162) T. F. Ryan, op.cit., p.27.
- (163) Ibid., p.33.
- (164) Ibid.
- (165) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1876.
- (166) Ibid.
- (167) China Mail, Dec 4, 1875.
- (168) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1876.
- (169) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1884-85, p.242.

- (170) Hong Kong Government Gazette 1875.
- (171) T. C. Cheng, "The Education of Overseas Chinese -- A Comparative Study of Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies", M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1949, p.111.
- (172) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.143.

Chapter IV MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN HONG KONG (1877-1905)

4.1 Government Policies

Six Governors, Sir J. Hennessy (1877-82), Sir G. Bowen (1883-85), Sir G. Des Voeux (1887-91), Sir W. Robinson (1891-98), Sir H. Blake (1898-1903) and Sir M. Nathan (1904-07), ruled Hong Kong during the period 1877 to 1905.

4.1.1 The Amendment of the Grant-in-Aid Scheme

During the period 1877 to 1905, religious education was tolerated and accepted by all these governors who adopted a liberal grant policy. After Hennessy and Eitel produced a compromise over religious education in grant schools, the missionary societies could get grants from the Government without restrictions being placed on religious instruction.

Hennessy, a Catholic, was responsible for a change in educational policy. The new policy reflected his support for religious education in mission schools and the promotion of English. These ideas were directly opposed to those of Stewart who "had steadily upheld the view that secular education in the vernacular was the prime requirement",¹ and the study of the vernacular was of² primary importance to the Chinese.

After Stewart left Hong Kong on home leave in March

1878, Eitel was appointed Inspector of School (1879-1897). Thus the offices of Headmaster and Inspector were separated. Eitel held the post of the Inspector of Schools for 18 years. His point of view in education was, as E. A. Irving, the Inspector of Schools in 1901 and Director of Education in 1909, stated, to hold "the popular laissez-faire views of his day and was opposed to State schools where avoidable"³. It is clear that the policy of Eitel, as the Report of the Committee on Education for 1901 pointed out, was, "generally speaking, to reduce the number of (Government) District Schools and to increase the number of those under the Missionary Bodies"⁴.

In 1877, Stewart proposed a revision of the Grant Code. His suggestion indicated no substantial improvement in the position of religious instruction. The religious denominations criticized the scheme publicly by the end of 1877 because it was too secular. Hennessy asked the religious bodies to make suggestions and amended the Grant-in-aid Scheme under the influence of Raimondi who was his friend. Eitel explicitly mentioned Hennessy's intention to change the Grant-in-aid system in a letter (Feb 5, 1878, Hong Kong);

There had been for some time a good deal of debate here, as there was some apprehension the governor might upset the grant-in-aid system and the system of secular teaching in government schools to favour the Roman Catholics.

⁵
With the approval of the Secretary of State, the

Revised Code of 1879 was announced. Four major changes were made:

First, the word "secular" and "consecutive" were struck out of the scheme and it was to read: "The time devoted to instruction in the subjects of the Standards is not less than four hours daily".⁶ In other words, religious instruction could be freely fitted in between the four hours of secular teaching.

Second, the word "elementary" was dropped in order to open the way for the grant schools to develop higher level education. Thus, the code extended the provision of grants to secondary level schools.

Third, the condition that there should be a minimum average attendance of twenty students was deleted.

Fourth, a capitation of one dollar per year for each student in average attendance was added, and grants to all classes of schools were raised. In addition, extra grants⁷ for more specific secular subjects were given.

Under the Revised Code of 1879, more mission schools, both Protestant and Catholic, could join the Grant-in-aid Scheme. With the government's financial assistance, the missions were able to help educational developments. They were also able to help to develop higher education and to promote the learning of English.

In fact, this liberalisation of the grant policy helped the mission schools a great deal. As Chalmers stated,

In 1878, when the grants-in-aid were put on a very liberal scale a great stimulus was given to Education in the Colony, and since perfect freedom was allowed in teaching Christianity, the missionaries were eager to take advantage of the scheme.

8

Eitel also wrote about the help this scheme gave to missions,

The Grant-in-aid scheme is, however, only availed of by the missionary bodies for their schools, and by one or two small European schools.

9

After the declaration of the Revised Code of 1879, the relationship between the government and the missions was, as Irving stated;

Thenceforward Government and Protestant and Roman Catholic Schools have worked harmoniously side by side, with nothing worse than a very friendly rivalry between them.

10

This was characteristic of the period. Previously, educational policy in Hong Kong had been designed to develop vernacular education. There was a change in direction when Hennessy appointed a committee in February, 1878, to consider the teaching of English in the Colony. The committee supported the Governor's view that the primary object of government effort should be the teaching

11

of English. This policy was initially introduced to government (maintained and aided) schools. From the 1880s onwards, the revised policy of setting up elementary English schools and leaving Chinese "native schools" to voluntary bodies, which was suggested in Eitel's Report

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for 1879 was implemented.

Under Hennessy, a policy of developing secondary

education was carried out. A further revision of the Code in 1883 increased payments for higher level classes and decreased the payment for lower levels. This allowed more children to reach a higher educational standard in Hong Kong. As Eitel said, this code was "to encourage the teachers of these purely Chinese Schools to bring forward more children into the higher Standards".¹³ According to the Educational Report for 1888, this aim was partially achieved.¹⁴

The Revised Grant-in-aid Scheme of 1883 also reduced the basis of examination for grant from 200 daily attendances to 100. Such a policy increased grants to mission schools through payment by results, as more students sat for the examination. So, on the whole, the government intended to assist religious bodies to develop education in Hong Kong.

This was important and helpful. As Chalmers stated in the Report for 1883 (Hong Kong),

The admirable grant-in-aid system established by the British Government affords a splendid opportunity to missionaries of all denominations of imbuing the minds of the young with their religious ideas at little cost of time or money.

¹⁵
On the other hand, according to the Educational Report for 1883, it had proved to be much cheaper to develop Grant-in-aid Schools than Government Schools. Accordingly, the advantage of this policy to the government is clear.

Under the rule of Des Voeux, no special amendment was

made to the Grant-in-aid Scheme. Nevertheless, additional help was given to some government aided schools by abolishing fees and providing furniture and better facilities.¹⁶

However, progress in education in the 1880s was not as great as might have been expected. As Endacott observed,

17

Progress in education continued to be very low.

Standards of attainment remained low, though the Central School (Victoria College), St. Joseph's, St. Paul's and the Diocesan Schools were now beginning to aim at standard above those of elementary education.

18

In 1890, Lord Knutsford, the Secretary of State, complained that it was "evident that no great progress is yet being made to a condition of general education".¹⁹ Thus, it came to be seen that it was important to promote mass education. In fact, the promotion of popular education was a major educational objective in the last decade of the 19th century.

In the period of 1891 to 1898, Robinson "faced a minor financial crisis".²⁰ This problem arose from the period when Des Voeux ruled Hong Kong. A gradual fall in the price of silver led to the depreciation of the dollar, and made the contribution for the military and other sterling payments automatically heavier.²¹ The salaries of officials rose to compensate for the losses on sterling remittances in 1890. In that year the military contribution doubled.

A reduction of public expenditure on education became necessary and Robinson intended to shift the burden of education to the religious bodies. By so doing, the government could promote education and decrease government expenditure on education. So Robinson declared in his speech to the Legislative Council in November, 1892,

our aim is to extend the grant scheme in every direction and encourage educational enterprise.²²

All government schools with less than twenty-five pupils were closed, unless there were no other schools near. This caused the closure of 11 of the 28 government vernacular district schools in 1893. (Six English Government Schools were not affected by this policy). The number of vernacular district schools dwindled to 7 in 1900.²³ This is clear that after 1893 the Education Department gradually abandoned the field of vernacular education.

As a second step, the Revised Code of 1893 was announced. It stated that half of the cost of building, enlarging, improving or fitting up public schools would be paid by the government. This was a way to foster the establishment of schools.

The code also allowed for a grant to schools offering standard (level) 7. This "prepared the way for secondary education".²⁴

Under the Revised Code of 1893, only three Classes of Schools remained:

(a) Schools with a Chinese education in the Chinese

language,

(b) Schools with a European education in the Chinese language, and

(c) Schools with a European education in any European language.

After the plague in 1894, the increased cost of public work and cost of living made educational work more difficult. The government reduced grants to grant schools by 8 %.

In summary, while Robinson was governor, government policy was to hand over educational work to the missions in order to reduce expenditure and raise educational standards. Yet, in Hong Kong, "progress in education was slowed down"²⁵ because of the economic difficulties and epidemics.

Under the governorship of Blake, in 1901, a Committee on Education was appointed to make a survey of the existing educational system and make suggestions for its improvement.

In 1902, the Committee recommended that the government should develop Anglo-Chinese education in order to reduce the ignorance of the upper class Chinese rather than to force new ideas on the mass of the people.²⁶ It emphasised the need introduce oral methods in the teaching of English, modern ideas history and geography, and the cultivation by Chinese students of their own language.²⁷

The Revised Code of 1904 abolished the system of

payment by results which was replaced by payment in accordance with the Inspector's general reports on his observations throughout the year. "The need for more practical and better teaching in the Vernacular Schools was insisted on".²⁸ The new Code recognised only modern Western methods of teaching, and insisted that either English or Chinese be the medium of instruction.²⁹

Under the influence of China, the method of Chinese teaching and learning changed. This influence was exerted by the educational reforms pressed by Chinese officials after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Rev. H. R. Wells' Report for 1905 (Hong Kong), described this development,

This is a step in line with the movements in China and the books are obtained mostly from Shanghai.³⁰

In conclusion, the Government aimed to develop elementary education in Hong Kong through the Grant-in-aid Scheme. Eitel pointed out that the provision of education should cater for society. He wrote,

There is no compulsory education in the Colony and for this reason it is not possible to run, in matters educational, counter to public opinion in that overwhelmingly large section of the population from which pupils are drawn.³¹

Under the Grant-in-aid Scheme, the governors encouraged both the religious societies and the Chinese community, including the Kaifong (natives residents) Associations and guilds, to develop education and set up schools. As T. W. Pearce's Report for 1899 (Hong Kong) wrote,

....a chief object of the present Hong Kong school code is to encourage Missionary Societies and other public bodies to wider efforts in the cause of education.

32

In fact, during the period 1877 to 1905, only mission schools benefited. This was because schools set up by individual Chinese developed in such a way that they were not eligible for grants. In schools set up by the large Chinese charity groups, interference from the government, was not welcomed.

The period of 1877 to 1905 can be regarded as successful for the religious societies as the Inspector of Schools observed in 1899,

....some of the best educational work of the Colony is done under missionary supervision.

33

Because of the good educational work done by the missions, and the complicated financial and manpower problems which hampered educational progress particularly in the 1880s, the government preferred to give the missions a free hand. This policy is confirmed by the increasing number of mission schools.

4.1.2 The Promotion of the Importance of English

During the period 1877 to 1905, the Governors of Hong Kong, generally intended to promote the teaching of English in schools and the importance of English in Society. It should be noted that the recruitment of teachers from England was too expensive. Thus in 1881, Hennessy set up a normal school for the training of

teachers who would help to create an English-speaking Chinese community. Hennessy omitted to submit the scheme to the Secretary of State, who, in the absence of a full explanation, demanded that money voted for the Normal School should be cancelled. It was closed in September,³⁴ 1883. The plan of training local English teacher failed.

In 1882, the year Hennessy left Hong Kong, 64 out of 80 schools under government inspection offered Chinese education only. 8 of the rest taught both English and Chinese. It was clear that "Hennessy's attempt to insist³⁵ on more English teaching was only partially realized".

In the same year, the Education Commission recommended that in the upper classes (Class IV to I) of the Central School no Chinese lessons except translation should be taught, and the teaching of English had to be³⁶ introduced to all government schools. Recommendations were approved. This "marked the beginning of a definite policy for the promotion of teaching of English in³⁷ government schools".

Bowen intended to introduce Examinations in English for appointments to government clerical and other minor³⁸ posts. He advocated that English should be taught in all government maintained schools.

In fact, this was a general policy in British Colonies. As Holmes stated,

After 1835 the Home Government undoubtedly approved any policy which, in promoting English

education, increased the supply of clerks and minor officials.

39

Cambridge Local Examinations were introduced in 1887. Subsequently the participation of the Oxford Local Examinations made English important as the medium of instruction.

In 1894/5, the importance of English was re-emphasised. After the plague in 1894, Robinson held that the reactionary attitude of the Chinese people towards government sanitary measures was due to a lack of Western knowledge. Thus, the solution he proposed was to encourage English learning in the schools. In 1894, Eitel stressed the importance of English in the schools with the aim,

....to evaluate the Chinese people of this Colony by means of English rather than Chinese teaching.

40

In 1895, it was announced that no grant was given to the newly established schools which did not give a European education in the English language. Yet, this policy was too difficult to implement.

In 1896, vernacular classes were closed in Queen's College (formerly Central College), and Chinese was taught only as a subject.

In 1901, the Committee on Education reported,

....the Committee do not recommend any more money to be spent in Vernacular Schools unless real efficiency can be assured.

41

The importance of English was reflected in the Government Code 1903 which gave "a larger portion of the

grant for education to devote to schools where a sound
English Education is given".⁴² A larger portion of grant
was given to the English or Anglo-Chinese Schools. This
was an advantage only to some of the missions, because
many mission schools were Vernacular, and more expenses
were incurred in running non-Vernacular schools.

Relationships between the Hong Kong Government and the Missionaries

During the period 1877 to 1901, missionaries still
participated as educational policy planners or advisors in
Hong Kong. For example, Eitel acted as the Head of the
Education Department.

The Committees on education and work relating to
examinations frequently comprised the Bishops of the
Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics, and other
missionaries. Missionaries also helped to supervise
certain subjects. Wells, in 1905, wrote about his work
for the government,

I was asked this year to assist in the examination
at Queen's College, where there are about a
thousand boys and men. I examined the school in
Mathematics and Chinese.

⁴³

In short, at the beginning of the 20th century,
missionaries, apart from their achievement in mission
schools, still participated in government schools as well
as in educational policy planning.

4.2 Missionary Policies

From the 1860s onwards, the L.M.S. and the Anglican Church as well as the Roman Catholics regarded Hong Kong as a desirable place for evangelical work, as has been mentioned in Chapter III. During the period 1877 to 1905, the above missions developed their work consistently.

In the 1880s, many other Protestant Missions intended to move their headquarters from China to Hong Kong or redevelop their missionary work there. As J. C. Edge's Report for 1882 (Hong Kong, L.M.S.) stated,

One proof that Hongkong is now regarded as a hopeful field for Mission work is found in the fact that other Mission field laid on their hearts that they would come here to labor.

44

In the same letter, Edge pointed out that the English Wesleyan (Methodist) Mission and the American Presbyterean Mission intended to move to Hong Kong from Canton. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions proposed to look for a site in order to redevelop its missionary work in Hong Kong. It had moved away from Hong Kong in 1845.

45

Previously, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission had concentrated on sailors and soldiers in Hong Kong. In 1884, it applied for a site to build a chapel. Yet, there are three reasons for believing the Wesleyans were not committed to evangelism in Hong Kong in the 1890s and 1900s.

First, in 1896, the Chinese Church of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Hong Kong was still under the care of

the Chairman of the South China District who lived in
46
Fatshan, a place near Canton. No missionaries were sent
to evangelize in Hong Kong.

Second, in 1897, Rev. W. Musson, the Wesleyan
Chaplain to H. M. Forces and Ships, in his letter (Jan 18,
1897, Hong Kong) to Rev. R. W. Allen, the Secretary of
Army and Navy Sub-Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist
Mission, pointed out that he acted not only as the
Chaplain of the Army and Navy as well as sailors, but also
47
as the superintendent of 9 Chinese schools. This
clearly showed that the Wesleyan Methodist Mission had no
intention of developing missionary work in Hong Kong.

Third, in 1898, Rev. C. Bone of the Wesleyan
Missionary Society complained (Oct 15, 1898, Hong Kong),

We have requested another brother for Haka (Hakka)
work for two years and notwithstanding so many men
have been sent out, none has come here.

48
Again, this showed no purposeful effort was made to
develop evangelical work in Hong Kong.

In 1900, the Boxer uprising broke out in China. More
Methodist lady missionaries moved to Hong Kong from Canton
because this uprising was originally directed against
foreigners and Christians. Moreover, girls in the mission
schools in Canton had left.

In 1901, Bone urged the Society at home to develop
evangelical work in Hong Kong. He wrote,

A good deal of money must be spent on plant in
this great Eastern emporium (Hong Kong).

49

Yet, in the following years, Bone (Aug 29, 1902, Hong Kong) and W. Bridie (May 25, 1904, Hong Kong) complained that there were still no improvement in the financial aid⁵⁰ and manpower supplied from home.

After the 1860s, when the American Baptist and Board Missions left the Southern China stations, and moved to the North of China, these two missions had sent no missionaries to Hong Kong. As mentioned in Chapter III, this was because of the financial problem in the United States. These American Missions tended to develop their work in Northern China or other less competitive new evangelical stations in China rather than Hong Kong.

After the removal of Johnson from Hong Kong to Swatow in 1860, the work of the American Baptist Mission nearly stopped. After his death, Mrs. Johnson returned to Hong Kong in 1872. Her work was supported by friends. The majority of church members in the little Baptist church in⁵¹ Hong Kong were Hoklo and Cantonese.

It was not until 1883 that Rev. C. R. Hager of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions made Hong Kong his headquarters. He also travelled in the⁵² Kwangtung Province to spread the Gospel. However, three years later, J. Smith, the Secretary of the A.B.C.F.M. wrote a letter (Dec 14, 1885, Boston) to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society setting out the American Board Missions' plan in Hong Kong. He wrote,

The experience of three years has proven that Hong Kong is not well chosen as the centre of a

mission....53

They intended to find another better centre which was not occupied by a Missionary Society and which was near to the sources of emigration to America. They decided to leave Hong Kong in the hands of the other Societies, although they might retain a house and helpers for the missionaries who passed through Hong Kong.⁵⁴

In fact, they did not entirely stop missionary work in Hong Kong. In 1891, on Hager's return to the United States, Mr. Nelson, his successor, conducted the Colony's mission from Canton. In 1894, Hager resumed work. It is clear that Hong Kong was not regarded as the centre of the missions in South China.⁵⁵

The aim of the Basel Mission was mainly to evangelise the Hakka people. Its work spread from Hong Kong over the eastern part of Kwangtung Province. In 1896, there were 2 married missionaries and 1 lady missionary in Hong Kong out of 29 missionaries (including only 1 lady) in the 13 stations and 41 out-stations. Few other Missions competed with the Basel Mission in doing missionary work among the Hakka people.⁵⁶

The Berlin and Rhenish Missions made Hong Kong part of their work in South China. Their headquarters were outside Hong Kong in Kwangtung province.⁵⁷

4.3 The Reactions of the Chinese to Missionary Policies

Despite efforts made by the missions, the hostility between the Chinese Government and Westerners hindered missionary work during the 1880s.

Due to the French War against China, cargo boatmen in Hong Kong refused to work on French ships and riots occurred.⁵⁸ Chalmers illustrated the impact of the rioting in Hong Kong on teaching in mission schools in his Reports of Hong Kong Station for 1884,

....a general hostility began to be manifested to everything European, which culminated in the riot in October.....After the riot a number of the pupils, perhaps a quarter, were withdrawn by their parents, some even removed from the Colony. There were also more frequent objections made to Christian teaching than formerly.

59

At the turn of the 20th century, the relationships between the United Kingdom and China improved considerably. The Chinese Government supported the erection of schools on Western lines. For instance, Li Hung-chang, the Governor-general of Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces, became a patron of the Hong Kong College of Medicine (for the Chinese) established in 1887.

Graduates from mission schools had no difficulty in finding employment and studying in China, particularly if they knew English. For instance, the job opportunities in the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs and commercial firms in China attracted many graduate scholars.

Notwithstanding these improvements, the Chinese in Hong Kong were still prejudiced against Western culture.

Even as late as 1894, when an epidemic occurred, rumours were circulated that the government, Western doctors and the missionaries had colluded to cut livers and eyes from the children and make them into medicine. It was also said that the government intended to reduce the population, as Hong Kong was overcrowded, by killing children. Many pupils were consequently withdrawn from the mission schools. No one dared to have contact with Westerners.⁶⁰ Sixty-one thousand people fled from the City⁶¹ spreading these stories through the province.⁶²

In the early 20th century, Rev. Wells still criticized the superstitious and obsessive view of the Chinese in Hong Kong. In the Decennial Report for 1891-1900, he wrote,

It is strange to see that Hong Kong people though they have so many opportunities of enlightenment are still just about the same as those in inland China in their modes of thought.

⁶³
In the early 20th century, Societal pressure on Christians came mainly from the clans in the New Territories, which had been leased to the British as part of Hong Kong in 1898. Even as late as 1913, when the Imperial Examination had been abolished for 8 years, this atmosphere was still present in the New Territories. Despite the fact that some villagers had been converted to Christianity, mission schools could not develop in villages because of deeply-rooted traditions. If these villagers wanted their children to receive Christian education, they had to send their children to mission

schools in other places. As the Report of the "Hong Kong and New Territories Evangelisation Society" recorded,

....a number of people, some already Christians, and others not yet baptised, have sent their boys to the Presbyterian Mission School in Canton for better education than they can secure in their village.

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Two examples show the difficulty experienced by people who desired to become Christians in Sheung Shui and Un Long. These were two villages in the New Territories with deeply-rooted traditions. The Report for 1910 of the Hong Kong and New Territories Evangelization Society recorded,

(In Sheung Shui) The members of a family who became Christians have been boycotted, so that the father and son are unable to earn their livelihood in the village.

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(In Un Long) Some of them (Christians) who have held out strongly, have had to go out to find work, as they could not stay in their village.

66

This might explain why long established villages, such as Kam Tin, Sheung Shui, San Tin and Fan Ling in the New Territories were not ideal places for evangelism in the early 20th century. As late as 1911, the Report of the Hong Kong and the New Territories Evangelization Society still recorded,

The village (Sheung Shui) has been a difficult one to work in.

67

In the writer's opinion, this explains why, as early as the 1860s, Roman Catholicism could build up a foundation in the eastern part of Hong Kong, i.e. in the vicinity of Sai Kung which was then outside Hong Kong,

because this part had less deeply-rooted traditional culture than those older villages mentioned above.

Free education in mission schools attracted girls. Nevertheless, the baptism of girls raised parental objections, because a girl's profession of Christianity might seriously hindered her marriage.⁶⁸ Thus, to prevent their daughters' conversion, parents would not allow their daughters to come into contact with religion.

Deeply-rooted Chinese institutions were still very strong among the Chinese Christians in this period (1877-1905). As Davies (May 8, 1895, Hong Kong) noted,

The Chinese are not like a barbarous people, whose life must be altered if they are to become Christians. They have their own manners and customs which in many cases it is neither wise nor desirable to set aside.

69

One thing that deserves mention is that the traditional Confucian institutions had a profound influence on the Chinese Christians. In other words, the status of Confucius was still very high among Chinese Christians. Wells, in the Decennial Report for 1901-1910, wrote,

The fact is that Chinese Christians are strongly Confucianist, and this point should be taken into account in any and every scheme for advance in China. Our best Christians resent such a statement as that the teachings of Confucius destroy or oppose one another. They show their resentment by saying that the words of our Lord cannot be brought into accord more than or perhaps as much as those of Confucius.

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One can well see that even in the early 20th century, Chinese Christians were still under the profound influence

of Confucianism.

4.4 The Aims and Policies of Missionary Education in Hong Kong

From the 1840s when Hong Kong was founded to the turn of the century, missionaries were divided on the issue as to whether their main aim was conversion or education. In the period of 1877 to 1905, this division continued. It seemed that a great number of heathen scholars were still not converted after studying in mission schools. This will be discussed in greater detail in the section on the reaction of Chinese people in this chapter.

During the period 1877 to 1905, the missionaries realised that the mission schools had an important role in evangelism, but the aim of mission schools was not directly to convert the heathen. In fact, it had been said that scholars formerly educated in mission schools, though not converted, were good seeds for the church when they worked in society. Legge clearly indicated the implicit evangelical function of the schools,

The more well-educated men that go out from mission schools among the heathens even though they make no profession of Christianity themselves, the sooner will the mass of the people be prepared for the Lord.

71

Davies' Report for 1898 (Hong Kong), stressed the useful function of the day schools,

But the Day-schools also have a most important place as enlightening and evangelistic agencies.

72

In fact, the evangelical agencies existed, not only in day schools, but also in boarding schools. The establishment of boarding schools by missionaries embodied a significant purpose which was made explicit in reports and letters. Boarding schools were "to train the future teachers, Bible women, and (especially) mothers -- send⁷³ their influence down through the future generation". So boarding schools were regarded as the most effective evangelical agencies, a point made clear in Annual Letter by Rev. J. B. Ost of the C.M.S. (March 1, 1890, Hong Kong),

Girls Boarding School -- I regard it as one of the most effective evangelistic agencies we have at work apart from its importance as an educational institution.

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Consequently, what the missionaries aimed at was to create a Christian atmosphere through which the mind of the youngsters could be influenced day and night.

Another aim of the mission schools was to educate the masses. It is worth noting that literacy in terms of reading and writing, was quite important for the spread of the Gospel. It was difficult to convince people to recognise God and even the translated Bible if they did not know the Chinese words or understand Western civilization. This was particularly the case in the first instance, when the missionaries arrived on Hong Kong Island (1842) and in the New Territories (1898). In the Report for 1905, the Hong Kong and the New Territories

Evangelization Society noted the extent of the problem of illiteracy in Chinese, faced by the preachers who first reached the New Territories,

The pressure of poverty, inability to read the written characters and the non-observance of Sunday, are some of the difficulties (in evangelism).

75

Thus, people who were educated could read and use the translated Bible. This indirect function of mission schools was plain to see.

To train clergymen and Bible-women for evangelical work, as well as preparing teachers, were other aims of the mission schools, because the missionary work was already well developed by the end of the 19th century. Native Christians were the ideal people to take up these duties.

In the 1880s, Burdon attempted to revive St. Paul's by opening a public school for European boys and an Anglo-Chinese School for Chinese boys. The development of these schools was not seen as desirable because "the original aim of St. Paul's was to be purely missionary".⁷⁶ In 1900, Bishop Hoare "revived St. Paul's as a training College for Chinese missionaries and catechists and a Theological Training class was established under Rev. G. A. Bunbury".⁷⁷ The Seminary was moved to Canton in 1909.

In fact, the Protestant missions could only conduct small-scale training in mission schools for clergymen and Bible-women, because of the limitation in manpower and resources. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic mission

retained the training of clergymen in its Seminary as its primary aim, as mentioned in Chapter III. Meanwhile, to train efficient school teachers was one of the aims of boarding mission schools.

4.5 The Development of Mission Schools in Hong Kong

4.5.1 The General Development of Various Missions

During the period 1877 to 1905, many missions concentrated more of their work in Hong Kong, particularly after the Boxer Outbreaks in 1900. As mentioned earlier in this chapter Hong Kong was regarded as a hopeful field
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for mission work.

4.5.1.1 L.M.S.

Of all the missions in Hong Kong, the L.M.S. was the most successful in terms of vernacular elementary education. In fact, almost half of the pupils in Hong Kong were educated in its schools. Chalmers' Report for 1885 showed the proportion of pupils in mission schools who attended L.M.S. schools:

Of the 4000 (scholars) who are more or less under Christian influence perhaps 1000 are receiving something more than a mere elementary education. The remaining 3000 are distributed as follows:

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1885	Boys	Girls	Total	% Out of Total
L.M.S.	709	633	1342	45.5
C.M.S.	531	165	696	23.6
Baxter Schools		282	282	9.5
Wesleyan	206	45	251	8.5
Am. Presb.	168		168	5.7
Am Board	162		162	5.5
Roman Catholic	51		51	1.7
total	1827	1125	2952	100.0

Although the level of elementary education was not clearly defined, and the data might not be entirely accurate, one can get a rough idea about the level of elementary education conducted by each mission.

In 1888, the number of pupils studying in Class I Grant Schools was listed below:

Mission	Schools(Class)	Pupils	% Out of Total
L.M.S.	18(I)	1500	34.70
C.M.S.	12(I)	720	16.70
Am. Board	5(I)	313	7.24
Female Ed. Soc.	7(I)	256	5.90
Total	63(I)	4325	100.00

Source: "Educational Report for 1888", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889.

According to above table, among the Protestant societies, the L.M.S. schools had the largest percentage of pupils studying in Class I schools (with Chinese education in the Chinese language). This had developed

during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Furthermore, after the closure of the Anglo-Chinese College, the L.M.S. did very little in advanced education. English was not taught in most of its schools in which traditional education was emphasized. In fact, of all the pupils under the supervision of the L.M.S., the number of pupils in the English School was frequently below 5% in the late of 19th century.⁸⁰

Yet, a problem arose when the government aimed to increase the importance of English by providing more grant to English schools. Despite the reduction of grants for vernacular schools under the government Grant-in-aid Scheme, and the withdrawal of students encountered by the L.M.S., some of the missionaries still insisted on teaching Chinese but not English. In 1899, although the English school of the L.M.S. attracted large numbers of boys,⁸¹ Pearce still argued against the study of English in the Colony by pointing out,

The present wide spread movement in favour of English is not likely to work much good to the Chinese race so long as the vast majority of those who study English do so for hand to mouth commercial reasons. I strongly incline to the opinion that the best preparation for an intelligent and appreciative study of English lies in western education through the medium of the native language.

⁸²

It is clear that Pearce supported education on Western educational lines, but opposed using English as the medium of instruction.

Davies' Decennial Report for 1901-10 clearly

indicated the government policy of increasing the importance of learning English in Hong Kong through the Grant-in-aid Scheme:

Special inducements are also being offered by the government to schools to work up to the Oxford Local Examinations, while the Director of Education is, at the same time, strictly limiting the number of scholars in the Vernacular Schools in the Colony that he may have a larger portion of the grant for Education to devote to schools where a sound English Education is given.

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Davies further pointed out that,

Most unfortunately for the cause of Elementary Vernacular Education in the Colony, the present Director of Education is so imbued with the idea of teaching English, and making all the schools in the Colony fit in to a place leading up to the University....

84

The government policy of providing more aid to English schools hindered this society.

Davies also opposed the provision of a larger grant to English schools, because the majority of girls came from poor families which could not afford to give both their daughters and sons an English education. Thus, few

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girls benefited by this type of education.

The education reform both in China and Hong Kong at the close of the 19th century increased the importance of English learning. With the introduction of the Cambridge and Oxford Local Examinations in Hong Kong in the late 19th century, English became even more important. Unfortunately, the L.M.S. did not have a large scale high school of a sufficiently good English standard, not even the Hong Kong Medicine College, to prepare students for

the University of Hong Kong.

Consequently, in the absence of a high school, if students wanted further studies, they had to go to government schools or other schools run by churches of other missions particularly the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics. These students were probably be baptized by the other missions, and assisted other churches rather than the L.M.S. when they grew wealthy.⁸⁷ Certainly, this was a loss to the L.M.S. both in finance and in the evangelical enterprise. As Rev. Wells in the Decennial Report for 1901-1910 described the situation,

They (the sons of church members) will be brought under the influence of the Roman Catholics or the Church of England.....as our better educated boys grow up they will be largely drafted off into other Communions.

Compared with the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church, the Chinese Christians of the L.M.S. were poorer and fewer,⁸⁹ notwithstanding its flourishing development of elementary education. Raising funds to build a High School, like St. Stephen's Boys' College of the C.M.S.,⁹⁰ was unsuccessful in the early 20th century. At the turn of the century, for the above reasons, L.M.S. schools did not develop satisfactorily.

In the late 19th century, the L.M.S. put great efforts into medical development. The opening of the Alice Memorial Hospital (1887), the Nethersole Hospital (1893) and the Hong Kong College of Medicine for the Chinese⁹¹ were the results of L.M.S. effort. The training

of doctors, nurses and mid-wives was a major L.M.S. objective in medical education. Dr. Patrick Manson, the Dean of the Hong Kong College of Medicine for the Chinese, explained the objective of this training as,

the spread of medical science in China, the relief of suffering, the prolongation of life, and as far as hygiene can effect this, the increase of comfort during life. We think that the present is the opportunity for Hong Kong to take up a manifest and long-neglected duty to become a centre and distributor, not for merchandise only, but also for science.

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Furthermore, Normal Classes were established in 1900 for the purpose of training native teachers in the Training Home. In addition, in the very early 20th century the L.M.S. established a Kindergarten.

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4.5.1.2 Anglican Church

Unlike the L.M.S., the Anglican Church developed advanced education and had comparatively less influence on elementary education.⁹⁴ St. Paul's College and the Diocesan Schools were the typical examples. Furthermore, the Anglican Church paid more attention to education for Europeans and Eurasians in comparison with the other Protestant Missions in Hong Kong. For instance, St. Paul's College was once partly for European boys. In addition, the Diocesan Home and Orphanage was reorganized in 1869 for children of both sexes,⁹⁵ catering particularly for poor European and Eurasian children from Hong Kong, China and Japan "living in deplorable

circumstances".⁹⁶ The new Diocesan Girls' School and Orphanage, which became the Diocesan Girls' School in 1899,⁹⁷ was also opened for the Europeans and Eurasians. The Anglican Church's focus on European education for the Europeans and Eurasians was apparent. It was not till 1900 that the number of vernacular schools increased because the Female Education Society handed over its schools to the Society.

The Society was financially supported by local Chinese. For example, St. Stephen's Boys' College (1903) and St. Stephen's Preparatory School (Girls' School, 1905) were established with the support of Ho Kai and the Chinese society connected the missionary society.⁹⁸

As for the schools entering the Government Grant-in-aid Scheme, schools run by the Anglican Church were the only Protestant schools classified in Class IV (Schools in which a European education was given in any European language). This did not change until the end of the 19th century.⁹⁹ In short, the Anglican Church put its efforts partly into Chinese education and partly into European education.

4.5.1.3 Other Protestant Missions

Other Protestant missions, i.e., the Wesleyan Methodists, the American Board, the Basel, the Berlin, and the Rhenish Missions worked steadily after the 1880s.

It was not until 1886 that Masters started Methodist

educational work in the Colony instead of concentrating on educational work in Canton as previously. In 1900, the Methodist Mission's work was reorganised as a result of the Boxer rebellions and all enterprises were moved temporarily from Canton to Hong Kong. By the turn of the 20th century, vernacular education was still stressed by the Methodists. Although its achievement in education was not major in terms of the number of pupils educated, its schools were successful in getting good results. A letter from W. Bridie of the Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary Society (May 25, 1904, Hong Kong) stated,

One of our girls' schools has in the opinion of H. M. Inspector of Schools risen to the highest position in the Colony.

In 1883 Hager of the American Board of Missions arrived in Hong Kong to preach and start schools. He made the Colony his headquarters. But the American Board's work and attitude were not consistent in Hong Kong. Consequently, during the period 1877 to 1905, the American Missions did not have much success in the educational field.

The Basel Missionary Society established schools for infants of 4 years and upwards.¹⁰² Its boarding and day schools provided both European and Chinese education in the Chinese language.

The Berlin Missionary Society still provided special education. Its Foundling House provided girl orphans with Chinese education.¹⁰³ In the 1890s, a blind Asylum was

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started.

4.5.1.4 Co-operation among the Protestant Missions

The unity of the Protestant missions, proposed in the late 19th century, was put into practice under the Union scheme. An example of this cooperative activity, in the early 20th century, were the Normal classes for training teachers conducted by Davies of the L.M.S.. These classes were for Christians under the Anglican Church, the Wesleyans and the Rhenish missions. Yet, disagreements¹⁰⁵ arose. Other proposals for co-operation in education, at first in the vernacular, then in English education were¹⁰⁶ not successful.

Co-operation or conflict between Societies, in some cases, was crucial to their success. To a certain extent, the Basel and the Rhensih Missionary Societies were easily accepted by the other Protestant societies since their Gospel was sent mainly to the heathen speaking Hakka. Furthermore, their co-operation with other societies was confined to places where Cantonese and Hakka people lived together.

4.5.1.5 The Different Developments of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions

It was not until 1881 that the Roman Catholic Mission placed one school of Class I (Schools in which Chinese education was given) in the Grant-in-aid Scheme while the

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Protestant Missions had 22. In fact, in 1888, under the Grant-in-aid Scheme, 8 out of 11 Catholic schools were placed in class IV. This shows that they developed European education using English or Portuguese as the medium of instruction. Indeed, all the Portuguese speaking students were educated under the supervision of the Roman Catholics. For example, at the turn of the century, students in St. Joseph's College, a large Roman Catholic School for boarders and day boys, were mainly Portuguese, Filipinos and Chinese. The comparison between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missions in terms of the number of schools and pupils in Class I and Class IV in 1888 is shown below:

Table 5 The Number of Pupils in Class I and Class IV in the Catholic and Protestant Schools in 1888

Class I				Class IV			
R. C.		Protestant		R. C.		Protestant	
Sch.	Pupils	sch.	Pupils	Sch.	Pupils	Sch.	Pupils
3	152	47	3001	8	813	3	249

Source: "Educational Report for 1888", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889.

From the table above it can be seen that the Catholic and the Protestant Missions worked in two different directions: European Education (with a European language as the medium of instruction) and Chinese education. This situation prevailed till the beginning of the 20th century.

According to the Educational Report for 1888, the Protestants on the whole were comparatively more successful in terms of the number of pupils enrolled. It recorded,

there were as many as 4,325 of these scholars attending Missionary Grant-in-aid Schools where they received a Christian education, viz. 3,407 scholars in Protestant Schools and 918 scholars in Roman Catholic Schools.

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In 1893, the grant schools were reorganised into 3 classes, i.e. European, Anglo-Chinese and Vernacular. In 1901, the comparison of the number of pupils in these three classes of Grant Schools are listed below:

Table 6 The Number of Pupils in
Three Classes of Grant Schools

Schools	R. C.		Protestant	
	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of schools	No. of Pupils
European	11	910	2	344
Anglo-Chinese	1	252	7	546
Chinese	8	443	49	2741
Total	20	1605	58	3621

—Source: Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.

In 1894 an industrial mission for disabled men was
110
established by the L.M.S., and a school for the blind
by the Berlin Mission. This was the first entry of
Protestant missions into special educational areas which
had previously been developed by the Roman Catholics.
With respect to vocational training, the Anglican Church
111
did not develop in this area until 1965.

During the period 1877 to 1905, the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics devoted more effort to developing Anglo-Chinese and English Schools, higher education, and schools for orphans and abandoned children. Vocational and special education continued to be carried out by the Catholic Mission.

In conclusion, the Protestants, with few exceptions, developed elementary education while the Roman Catholics developed other aspects such as higher education and vocational training. By the end of this period, as the Inspector's Report (1904) stated,

the most important educational bodies, after the Government, are the Church Missionary Society, and the various Roman Catholic Missions considered as one.

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4.5.2 Problems Affecting the Development of Mission

Schools

In the second half of this period (1877-1905), social problems and government policy hampered the development of Mission schools.

1.5.2.1 Social Problems

Social problems were caused by epidemics, high rents, and the high cost of living. In the years 1894-1902, epidemics occurred in which thousands of people died from bubonic plague, cholera and fever. The letter (July 25, 1894) from the Rev. C. Bennett (C.M.S.) illustrated this

serious situation: "it is estimated over 5000 persons died of the plague". 61,000 people fled from the City in the middle of the year.¹¹³

From Endacott, one knows the figures for deaths from plague in the following years:

Death from plague, for example, were 1175 in 1898, 1428 in 1899, 1434 in 1900; in 1901 the epidemic was so bad that many Europeans lost their lives and many Chinese began to leave.

¹¹⁴
Because of the epidemics, new regulations were established by the Sanitary Board requiring changes and improvements in buildings and facilities. As a direct consequence, the missions had to spend considerable amounts of money on the restoration of missionary buildings, which posed a financial burden.¹¹⁵

The plague caused the death of many teachers, pupil teachers and scholars in the schools, and many of the rest fled abroad. According to Chinese custom, students returned to their native villages in times of disaster.¹¹⁶
1894 which was regarded as "the year of the plague" by Davis, who noted that "six thousand Chinese left Hong Kong in one day".¹¹⁷ Six of her nine Girls' Schools were closed within two months. Many mission schools were compelled to disband due to the absence of suitable Christian teachers as well as pupils.

Moreover, since house inspections and compulsory cleaning initiated by the government were "a violation of all Chinese ideas of privacy and domestic decorum",¹¹⁸ the Chinese, particularly girls and women, left the Colony.

Pearce's Report for 1896 (Hong Kong), described the effect of the plague,

....women & children were sent away in large numbers to Canton and to their native villages to avoid the annoyance occasioned by compulsory home inspection which was regarded as an interference with domestic privacy. Meanwhile the regulation made by the sanitary board enforced the houses to be pulled down or improved the drainage system. The high rent occurred in the centre of the town. Girls' Schools closed frequently.

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In the same year, Rowe reported,

It was estimated that 20,000 women and girls left the last week in April, among them nearly 200 children from the Girls' Schools with which I was connected.

120

In May 1896, "the attendance at (L.M.S. Girls')

121

School at once dropped 90 per cent". Because of the

decrease in the number of pupils, the funds granted from

122

the government were proportionally small. In 1896, the

Girls' Schools of the L.M.S. encountered difficulties.

Rowe (July 22, 1896, Hong Kong) wrote about the grant,

(We did not have) any expectation that it will cover one tenth of the next year's expense.

123

Hence, epidemics and subsequent sanitary inspections had a serious effect on the attendance at girls' schools which in turn caused serious financial difficulties.

Furthermore public meeting places were dangerous when outbreaks of infectious diseases occurred. Many schools, being public places, were forced to close down due to the lack of students, as people attempted to avoid contact with crowds. The closure of schools was sometimes caused by the government when the district in which the schools

were situated was declared an epidemic area.

Pearce in his letter dated April 29, 1896 clearly indicated the undesirsable impact of plagues,

The inroads of plague have again affected grievously the working of the mission schools.

124

This was reassured in Musson's Report for 1896 (Hong Kong) of the Methodist Missionary Society which illustrated the epidemic's influence on its "Hong Kong Vernacular Schools";

These schools have not yet recovered from the epidemic of 1894 which reappeared in the spring of the year causing the death of over 1,200 Chinese and seventeen Europeans and a large exodus of Chinese women and children from the Colony.

125

The Inspector's Report also stated,

The severity of the plague in 1896 and 1901 is reflected in the serious drop in the attendance for those years.

126

Very often, a school had to be closed due to the death of a number of the pupils. In 1898, Davies reported a typical example,

In the Tang Lung Chau Girls' School more than one-fourth of the scholars (out of a school of over forty) died of plague to our certain knowledge, and many others fled to the country and have not been heard of since.

127

In the same Report, she noted the terrible situation,

We lived in constant dread during those months wondering who might be the next victim.

128

As Pearce noted in 1898, the loss of students due to disease could also have severe financial implications:

(School in Tang Lung Chau) There are no failures in the government-Examination, but the outbreak of plague in the suburb at the beginning of the year

diminished greatly the attendance, and the school became a financial loss to the missionary who had to make special provision for teachers salary etc..

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In short, the occurrence of epidemics and the death of a large number of the population caused serious problems of low attendance in mission schools as well as serious shortage of teachers either because of their death or their leaving to avoid the risk of disease.

At the turn of the 20th century, mission schools were faced with other problems, viz. high rents, and the high cost of living.

In 1900, Bone's letter of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission (June 8, 1900, Hong Kong) stated,

The rents in Hong Kong have doubled themselves within the last three years.

130

The Report of the Committee on Education for 1901

indicated the most plausible explanation for the decrease in the number of Grant Schools, which was "the rise in prices and rents during the last few years". This caused the closure of the less profitable schools and the overcrowding in the rest.

As can be seen in the figures shown below, the reduction in the numbers of the mission schools and scholars indicates the financial difficulties faced by the mission schools in the 1890s.

Table 7 Number of Grant Schools and Pupils
During 1893-1905

Year	No. of	
	Grant Schools	Pupils
1893	102	6250
1894	99	5964
1895	106	5684
1896	104	5178
1897	100	5522
1898	100	5882
1899	96	6316
1900	97	6055
1901	78	5246
1905	70	4700

Sources: Figures compiled from the statistics of the Hong Kong educational reports.

4.5.2.2 Government Policy

Turning to the effects of government policy, improved government grant for English education, the introduction of new teaching methods and curriculum, and more strict government supervision forced a number of the distant Chinese vernacular elementary schools to be closed.

In addition, under the new grant code there was an 8% reduction of grants for grant schools in 1894 (the epidemic year), and this posed difficulties for mission schools.

Davies' Decennial Report 1891-1900 stated its

influence,

In 1894, a new Code was introduced which reduced the scale of payments in general, and made the work considerably more difficult, and the earning of large grants much less possible.

133

The new code of 1895, with its stress on the importance of English, influenced the development of vernacular mission schools. As Davies' letter (Sept 18, 1894, Hong Kong) stated,

the new Educational Code may be introduced before long, giving almost exclusive benefits and aid to schools teaching in English instead of in Chinese.... Many teachers of schools that were self-supporting are virtually ruined. Others will follow before long, and many more be thrown out of Employment if Chinese teaching Schools are no longer aided.

134

The new methods of teaching and new curriculum measures in 1903, more rigid government supervision and the increased number of private Anglo-Chinese and Vernacular Schools were other impediments to the development of mission schools.

1904 was said to be a year of difficulties for school work for the missionaries. As Wells wrote in the Report for 1904 (Hong Kong),

The inspector of schools is trying to evolve inspected schools out of the old Examination schools, and institute class instruction instead of individual teaching.....new time tables are ordered.....the result is that it is impossible to give even the small amount of instruction in scripture and Christian truth which it was possible to give in the past.

135

A series of changes in the early 20th century were the consequence of educational reform in China, and the old Chinese educational system was swayed. In its place a

new educational system which inclined to Western lines was instituted. Under the new educational system, the Anglo-Chinese and English schools of the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholics secured considerable benefit and expanded quickly.

4.5.2.3 Other Problem

As the missions extended their work to the New Territories, the language problem troubled the missionaries a great deal. As Miss. Sibree wrote (Report for 1904, Hong Kong),

....But if one is to learn the language, I suppose one must give up everything else.

When the missionaries moved into the New Territories, they found "the dialect is so different that it is far from easy to understand what the women to say."¹³⁶¹³⁷

As in Tang Lung Chau (Hong Kong Island), the population included many Swatow people whose dialect was different from the Cantonese people. Their teaching turned out to be more difficult.¹³⁸ In fact, in Hong Kong, Cantonese, Hakka and dialects of Chao-chou and Chang-chou are the main dialects that natives speak.

4.5.3 The Number of Mission Schools and Pupils

From the 1880s, in Hong Kong upwards of 60% of students were enrolled in mission schools under the supervision of the Education Department. The Mission

schools under the Grant-in-aid Scheme, compared with Government schools in terms of the number of schools and students were as listed below:

Table 8 Number of Schools and Students
in Grant Schools under Government Supervision

Year	Government Schools		Grant Schools		% Out of Total
	No. of Schools	Students	No. of Schools	Students	
1877	30	2148	14	996	31.68
1887	33	1814	61	4160	69.64
1895	16	2132	106	5684	72.72
1905	13	2647	70	4700	63.97

Sources: Figures compiled from the statistics of the Hong Kong educational reports.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the direction taken by various mission schools is clearly reflected in the following figures, although all the mission schools were not run under the Grant-in-aid Scheme.

Table 9

Number of Schools and Students
Under Various Missionary Society
in 1901

Missionary Society	Vernacular		Anglo-Chinese		English	
	No. of Sch.	No. of Students	No. of Sch.	No. of Students	No. of Sch.	No. of Students
Am. Board	2	203	1	86		
Basel	4	264				
Berlin	1	30				
C.M.S.	16	768	4	359	2	344
L.M.S.	20	1177	1	70		
Rhenish	1	37	1	31		
Wesleyan	5	272				
R.Catholic	8	443	1	252	11	910
Total	57	3184	8	798	13	1254

Source: "Report of the Inspector of Schools, for the Year 1901", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.

With reference to the above table, one can see that the Basel, the Berlin and the Wesleyan Missions were exclusively interested in vernacular education. The L.M.S. also concentrated on vernacular education. That only one Anglo-Chinese school developed in this period (1877-1905) by the L.M.S. was a sign of adaptation to the change in government policy. The American board of Missions followed a similiar line though they had only a few schools.

The Anglican Church developed both vernacular and Anglo-Chinese and English schools. When compared with other missions, the Anglican Church had the largest number

of schools and pupils following an Anglo-Chinese education.

In contrast, there was a clear indication that the Roman Catholics aimed to develop English education for the Chinese and non-Chinese though it also ran a small number of vernacular schools.

4.5.4 Administration

During the period 1877 to 1905, for each mission, the administrative system was the same as before. This meant that major policy was formulated by the Authorities at home. Yet the local authorities had increased in size and power. In fact, Chinese clergymen had considerable influence on policy adoption and implementation.

With regard to the L.M.S., the independent Chinese Church began to provide full financial support for the Chinese pastor in 1884.¹³⁹ In 1888,¹⁴⁰ the Chinese Congregation became fully independent. It was named To Tsai Church and was the first self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating Chinese Church in Hong Kong.¹⁴¹ A comparatively large number of Chinese clergymen were on its organising Committee at the end of this period (1877-1905).

For the Anglican Church, the administrative area of the Diocese of Hong Kong was reduced again when Japan was separated from it in 1883. In 1902, the Chinese Anglican

Church Body was established in order to transfer missionary work to the Chinese in Hong Kong. It had the authority to organise the church for "self-support" and "self-government", setting up its own rules, electing¹⁴² representatives and administering church affairs. The first clause of the regulations is, "The Anglican Church in Hong Kong is in communion with the Church of England, and abides by her standards of doctrine and discipline; and is subordinate to the Bishop of the Church of England¹⁴³ in Hong Kong".

In respect of the American, German and Swiss missions, a few Chinese pastors were ordained during this period and in 1901, the Hong Kong Chinese Baptist Church¹⁴⁴ was organized as a self-supporting Congregation.

The enlargement of the organization in terms of more missionaries sent out and teachers employed allowed for more people to implement educational policy in mission schools. The missionaries acted as the "managers" of the mission schools and had to oversee things in general, and to transact all necessary business between the teachers and the government under the Grant-in-aid Scheme. Very often, priests would be managers as well as teachers. The priests who supervised the schools would normally visit them over a certain period of time, and teach in Christianity.

In this period, some of the mission schools were not established directly by the missions, but by some of the

Christians connected the missionaries, although the missionaries acted as managers of these schools.¹⁴⁵ In this way, the number of mission schools increased, but the educational expenses of the missions decreased. For instance, the Hong Kong Annual (Educational) Report for 1881 stated,

Five of the Protestant Mission schools are under the superintendence of a native catechist and were opened by him on behalf of a few Chinese merchants who supply the funds.

¹⁴⁶

....they (Victoria Schools) are under the patronage of the Roman Catholics Mission, although these schools do not teach religion at all.

¹⁴⁷

4.5.5 Finance

General Conditions

During the period 1877 to 1905, generally speaking, mission schools were better off financially compared with the previous two periods, i.e. 1842-1859 and 1859-1877. Nevertheless, towards the end of this period (1877-1905), financial difficulties occurred particularly in the vernacular schools. This was mainly due to outbreaks of plague and high rent which were mentioned in detail in the section on the problems affecting the development of mission schools earlier in this chapter.

The Report of the Committee on Education 1901 pointed out the result of the financial difficulties,

As a large number of the Grant Schools are Adventure schools, the master and not the Mission

standing to gain or lose by the Grant, and as the Grant does not increase while prices and rent do, it is plain that the masters of these schools suffer more from such causes than do those of the Private Schools, where if expenses increase fees are increased proportionately.

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Indeed, the "connected Christian Schools" started by Chinese Christians helped the development of religious education a great deal¹⁴⁹ because they were set up on a commercial basis, and the teacher (the owner) made a profit or loss according to how successful the school was. Such schools received funds under the Grant-in-aid Scheme and were under the supervision of missionaries. The missions encouraged these "connected Christian schools", particularly when they lacked funds.

In addition, some governors occasionally subscribed to the mission schools to show their appreciation. For instance, Nathan praised the mission schools run by the L.M.S., and made a subscription of \$100 in 1905.¹⁵⁰

However, there was a reduction pro rata in the grants in 1882, 1887, and 1889 of 14.33%, 1% and 5.3% respectively. The reduction was due to the regulation, laid down by the Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, i.e. "the sum of money voted each year for Grant-in-aid ought not under any circumstances to be exceeded".¹⁵¹ So, if the total grants made to the grant schools exceeded the annual ascribed sum of money, there would be a reduction of grants.

4.5.5.1 Self-Supporting Policy

From the turn of the 20th century mission schools were mostly run on a self-supporting principle. Because of government grants and financial support from European merchants and the natives, there was less need for support from the missionary societies.

During the period 1877 to 1905, most of the major missions in Hong Kong gradually became self-supporting. As mentioned in Chapter III, in 1867, the L.M.S. adopted the self-support policy and limited "their grants from England to the support of the English missionaries, and a small amount of general aid in the training of students and the promotion of evangelistic work".¹⁵² By the end of the 1870s, when the L.M.S. experienced financial problems, it was necessary for the Society "to reduce expenditure in every available way".¹⁵³ The Society at home urged that many items of expense should be left in the hands of natives. Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, the Acting Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. wrote (Oct 17, 1879, London) to Chalmers,

Under the head of "Repairs, three chapels", "Chapel keepers", "Lighting chapels", and "Expenses at outstations" scope is left for Native liberality.

¹⁵⁴

The mission societies at home, usually, were not able to provide much financial support for educational work. In the same letter, Whitehouse continued,

Education-- the grants are below your estimate, but if the schools are successful in the government Examination even the reduced grants will not be needed.

¹⁵⁵

Whitehouse wrote to the Hong Kong District Committee
(Sept 24, 1880, London),

The stopping of the grant for lights might be
advantageous in leading the people to understand
more clearly the principle and duty of self-
support.

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Apart from limited financial support from home in
general, the Society contributions to education were
usually insufficient. As Rowe pointed out in the Report
for 1888,

Society only contributes £7.1 per annum, and the
teachers' salary is £18.

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By the end of the 19th century, the L.M.S. was
generally successful in its policy of self-support.
Wells, in the Decennial Report 1901-10, wrote,

The Church in Hong Kong, is self-supporting and
has been so for much more than a decade.

158

On the other hand, the C.M.S. also tried to follow
the self-support principle. Rev. J. B. Ost of the C.M.S.
in his letter (March 1, 1890, Hong Kong) stated,

Anglo-Chinese Day-School -- I opened at the
beginning of 1889 with funds I raised amongst some
Native friends, so that the work has been started
without expense to the Society.

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The above cases are examples showing that self-
support was important to the missions in Hong Kong. This
was strongly encouraged by the Societies at home although
it still did not apply fully to the Anglican Church. The
Church Missionary Intelligencer 1901 recorded,

C.M.S. will not have to supply any money for
native work actually in Hong Kong, except for day
schools and Bible-women.

160

In fact, there is some evidence to show that at the turn of the century not all missions were self-supporting. The Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary Society did not obtain enough funds either from home or in Hong Kong. The Christian Missions in Hongkong recorded that the financial assistance to the W.M.S. from home in the 1890s was restricted to:

The only money received from European funds is the rent of the school chapel.

161

In 1902, Bone wrote home (Aug 29, 1902, Hong Kong) to ask for financial assistance:

I am sending you the subscription book of the native Christians of Hongkong....and perhaps at the same time assist you in coming to the conclusion that we must be helped.

162

The low level of support to the W.M.S. from the Society at home and the natives in Hong Kong was clear. Likewise, the American, the Swiss and the German Mission could not implement the self-support policy due to the insufficient subscriptions and small number of church members.

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4.5.5.2 Financial Problem of Village Mission Schools

The fact that not all mission schools were self-supporting was due to the number of small village schools. Concerning the insufficient funding of the small village schools, it was pointed out in Chalmers' Report for 1883,

The larger and better taught schools in the City

are nearly self-supporting, i.e., the grant nearly meets the expenditure. But small schools, i.e. villages need to be voluntarily helped.

164

Consequently, were it not for other financial sources, mission schools in the villages could not have been run properly. Mission schools in the distant villages where pupils were few in number were unable to secure any government grant or adequate grant. The resultant problem was that some teachers had to practise as medical practitioners in order to make ends meet. To a certain extent, this practice hindered teaching and evangelism.

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Moreover, owing to the economic situation varied from school to school, part of a teacher's salary was frequently paid by the missions. Davies said that at times some teachers moved to other schools to earn the much higher salaries offered by other missions. Consequently, a teacher could not work for long in a school.

4.5.5.3 Past Students and Local People

The native Christians increased greatly in number. They were comparatively wealthy and could subscribe to the Church. Support from the natives was important not only in education, but also in evangelism. In the case of the Anglican Church, the setting up of St. Stephen's Boys' College in 1903 and St. Stephen's Preparatory School for Girls in 1905 were supported by Sir Kai Ho Kai, who helped

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to raise funds. In the case of the L.M.S., the self-supporting principle was almost entirely effective.

It was not until the early years of the 20th century that contributions with steady support from the natives were large enough to support evangelical work in Hong Kong.¹⁶⁷ In the writer's opinion, improved local contributions can be accounted by the following reasons:

(1) The success in spreading religion among the upper class resulted.

(2) Graduate students of the mission schools could find good jobs and climb the social ladder. Some of them went abroad to further their studies¹⁶⁸ and found jobs in Hong Kong or China by employing the knowledge learned from the mission schools. These students provided their former schools with financial support.

(3) The rapid economic growth of the Colony was also an important factor. One can see that the prices and rents rose sharply.¹⁶⁹ Because commerce was flourishing, the former students of the mission schools, had the chance to make money and raise their status.

(4) Finally, the prosperity of Hong Kong provided opportunities to make a lucrative profit from previous investments. According to the letters and reports from the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, land, in particular, rose tenfold in value. Davies, in the Decennial Report for 1891-1900 wrote,

During the last few years, the value of land and of house property in Hong Kong has gone up by

leaps and bounds.

170

Profit from lands provided a large sum of money for the Roman Catholic missions, which helped them to plan their construction programme.

The pace of the development of mission schools was made possible by the affluence of native contributors which, in the writer's judgement, was the most stable and useful financial source of support for the evangelistic work.

The opening of St. Stephen's Boys' College "in 1903 by the Church Missionary Society at the request of a group of wealthy Chinese who wished a first class education for their children along the lines of an English Public School",¹⁷¹ which has sometimes been called the Eton of the East, indicates that by 1903 the Church was supported by the rich. Therefore, the financial problem was resolved.

Furthermore the mission schools also received money from parents for food and clothing. In this period, most parents were able to pay boarding fees for their children and provide them with necessities.¹⁷² The schools could secure financial resources from parents in payment of school fees if the children learnt English or a special subject, e.g., to play a musical instrument.¹⁷³

4.5.5.4 School Fees

Fees were charged in the European boys or English

schools, e.g., St. Paul's College and St. Stephen's Boys' College. As Endacott wrote,

In 1880, Bishop Burdon opened a public school for European Boys in St. Paul's, for which fees were to be charged.

174

In fact, school fees were charged in most Anglo-Chinese schools. There was a great demand for English knowledge especially by the turn of the 20th century. As the Report of the Committee on Education 1901 stated,

Fees of about one dollar a month are paid in these (Anglo-Chinese Grant) Schools.

175

Yet, the same Report recorded,

No fees are charged in the Vernacular Grant Schools.

176

However, owing to poverty, and conservative views on women's education, as mentioned in Chapter I, it was generally impractical to charge any school fees in the running of a girls' school. Yet, in 1901, the Training Home for Girls began to charge school fees. In a way, this reflected the progress made in female education.

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4.5.5.4 Grants from Abroad

Other sources included donations from friends and mission groups in the Home countries quite apart from the Missionary societies. For the C.M.S., the Church Missionary Intelligencer of 1901 stated,

....Feeding and clothing comes from entirely voluntary offerings, a small amount being given by people here, the rest, for the support of special girls, by friends in England.

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Most girls under the Training Home of the L.M.S. were

supported by friends. There were also special funds available, such as the Boarder's Fund, for the support of girls and an allowance for girls' schools from the "Home Committee" etc. By the end of this period (1877-1905), subscriptions from natives and European merchants were a significant source of assistance to the mission schools.

4.5.6 Curriculum of Mission Schools

4.5.6.1 Common Core Subjects

Scripture and Chinese Classics still constituted the common core curriculum of the Vernacular and the Anglo-Chinese mission schools. The Inspector of Schools' Annual Report for 1881 (Hong Kong), reported,

But as all these schools (in Class I), 23 in number, teach principally the Chinese Classics and supplement the ethical teaching of the Confucian Classics by religious Christian teaching, the work done in these schools has, in my opinion, a high educational value.

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Scripture was regarded as of the utmost importance in mission schools. As Pearce in his Report for 1885 wrote,

We have sought to make each school an evangelistic centre.

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In order to foster pupils' interests in religious studies, rewards for good results in the scripture examination were made to them by the missions. Otherwise the pupils would not have paid much attention to Scripture

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lessons.

Chinese Classics were a common core subject not only

because of the wishes of Chinese parents. In fact, some missionaries emphasized the importance of learning Chinese through the Classics. Davies' Report for 1893 stated,

The most thorough way to learn the language of a country is through native Books and not through imitations of those Books.... A Chinaman without some knowledge of Chinese Classics is only half a Chinaman after all, even though he has much of "Western knowledge".

182

The elementary schools were mostly run on traditional lines, following the model of Chinese Schools. Very often, the rote learning of the Classics was practised.

In 1883, Mr. R. Wardlaw Thompson, the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. visited all the chief China stations of the Society, and reported,

The schools, even in Hong Kong, are conducted on native models, with only those books and subjects required by Chinese opinion. Western knowledge has scarcely found any entrance to them. In fact, the only thing which makes them differ from the ordinary native schools is that Christianity is a subject of instruction, side by side with the Chinese classics.

183

From Thompson's report, one can see that education in Hong Kong was very much under the influence of the Chinese educational tradition and it is not difficult to see the significant part played by the Chinese Classics in the curriculum. As Eitel, in the Hong Kong Educational Report for 1888, stated,

The best classical teacher, be he teacher of a Mission School or of a Government School, invariably attracts the largest number of scholars.

184

This was due to the traditional Confucian ideology; the Chinese liked to follow and imitate the style of their teachers regardless of the nature of the school. In the Educational Report for 1890 (Hong Kong), Eitel pointed out that parental objections to sending their children to Christian Schools were rare. As he wrote,

(The Chinese) look to the personal character and scholastic competency of the teacher rather than to the Christian or secular character of the school.

185

As a matter of fact, until the end of the 19th century, except schools with a European education, mission schools had to retain Chinese Classics in the curriculum to attract pupils. In her Report of 1888, Rowe professed that she did not see the mental or moral benefit of studying the Chinese Classics. Yet, she agreed to retain them as to attract pupils. This shows the importance of Chinese Classics in the curriculum of mission schools.

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In 1888, three-fifths of all pupils in schools receiving government aid received a non-English education. With the exception of the ordinary Chinese village schools, all schools included Geography, and in many cases Arithmetic also. Consequently, except in a few Chinese schools with a European education and the English schools, despite the importance of English, the Chinese Classics were still highly regarded.

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4.5.6.2 The Curriculum in Grant-in-aid Schools

As in the previous period (1859-1877), regards the curriculum in Grant-in-aid schools, Pearce's Report for 1889 recorded,

Four hours per day for government subjects satisfies the requirements for the Grant-in-aid Scheme, all other secular education being at the option of the manager and teacher.

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The curriculum of mission schools was designed according to whether the school was to follow Chinese or European educational principles, and whether English, Chinese or other languages should be used as the medium of instruction. Later, the Grant Code of 1904 insisted that only either English or Chinese should be the medium of instruction.¹⁸⁹ Hence, the subjects varied from school to school and from class to class.

In the higher level schools, some subjects were taught, even though they attracted no grant. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s, the Educational Reports stated that Algebra and Physical Geography were taught in Victoria English School (Girls' School, Roman Catholic), Grammatical Analysis, Animal Physiology, Geometrical and Prospective Drawing, and Book-keeping in Diocesan School (Church of England), and Mensuration, Trigonometry, Chemistry and Freehand Drawing were tried with success in some English secondary mission schools. Special grants were paid for Algebra, Euclid, Physical Geography, Animal Physiology and Book-keeping.¹⁹⁰ Latin, French and Portuguese were also taught, especially in some Roman

Catholic English mission schools.

In schools modelled along European lines, a wider curriculum was offered. Arithmetic, History, Geography, Music and Sewing, were taught in the Victoria Home and Orphanage in the 1890s.¹⁹¹ Romanized characters were taught in some of schools, for example, the Preparandi Class of St. Paul's College in the 1900s.¹⁹²

Furthermore, different subjects were taught according to the qualifications of the teachers in various schools. The industrial classes of the Roman Catholic Reformatory School continued to include industrial teaching in the curriculum.

Needlework instruction was given in all the girls' schools in the Colony. Apart from meeting the requirements of the Grant Code for girls' schools in this subject, the commercial value of the embroidery work was much appreciated by poor Chinese parents.¹⁹³ Since Girls' Mission schools spent a lot of time teaching needlework or embroidery, it was difficult to include special subjects such as Algebra or Astronomy in the curriculum in Girls' Day Schools.¹⁹⁴

On the whole, English learning in this period (1877-1905) was fostered by the government. With the introduction of new teaching methods at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a change of texts. As Wells' Report for 1903 noted,

There are no definite text books for use in the schools and different schools have been allowed to

use different sets of textbooks in order to test the utility of the books, up to the present all teaching has been done from the old Chinese text books but latterly a large number of series of text books have been brought out by various Chinese and others with a view to modernising the children's education.

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4.5.6.3 The Curriculum in Girls' Boarding Schools

The curriculum in girls' boarding schools, was wider than that in girls' day schools. Scripture learning or other cultural subjects, including music, art, design, hygiene and housework, were taught to help in the development of a good personality. In some mission schools, pupil teachers learnt the art of teaching in the upper classes.

For example, the Training Home for Girls was a girls' boarding schools providing practical education on European lines, through the medium of the Chinese language.¹⁹⁶ The Training Home had a wide-ranging curriculum including drawing, painting, drilling, nature study, singing, embroidery, design, needlework, arithmetic, geography, hygiene, history and the art of teaching for pupil teachers,¹⁹⁷ apart from Chinese Classics and scriptures. In addition, housework, looking after young children, country work and the like were to be acquired by girls for personal development.¹⁹⁸

Personality development and a wider curriculum were crucial for those girls who were to be Christian mothers or for those who were to become efficient school teachers.

As Davies wrote in her Report for 1891,

....two or three years of happy, healthy school life, full of loving, helpful Christian influences, at the most important period of their lives, when they are leaving childhood behind them.

199

In the Report for 1893, she stressed,

....all the girls may be trained to be active and helpful in the affairs of daily life.

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Even in the early 20th century, English teaching in girls' schools was criticized by Davies. In Davies' opinion, English teaching was not suitable for the Chinese girls if the aim of female education was to provide for a good family life. If girls spent much of their time on learning English, they would have fewer opportunities to practise housework or learn other subjects to cultivate their personality.

Chinese girls who knew English, whether pigeon or not, could contact the Europeans more easily. This might have been one way in which education could lead to lower standards of morality, and why there were so many illegitimate Eurasian children in the early years of the Colony. On the other hand, in women's schools for adults, only basic literacy was required for the reading of the translated Bible.

4.5.6.4 The Change in Textbooks and Teaching methods

During the period 1877 to 1905, teaching methods were traditional in most of mission schools. As Chalmers wrote (Report for 1887, Hong Kong),

Repetition is the strong point, in fact the only point, in the lower classes in Chinese Schools.

201

It was believed that "the old system kept too much to the memorising plan and children were at school 3 or 4 years before they knew what characters meant".

202

Consequently, new methods of teaching were advocated by the Committee on Education in the Colony in 1902 fostered with a view to helping children understand what they read

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and wrote from the beginning. The new curriculum was influenced by innovations in the Imperial Examination and the establishment of the new education lines in China.

After 1904, the curriculum and teaching methods changed. As Wells' Report for 1905 stated,

The children are taught out of new books, specially suitable for children, and learn the meaning of characters from the beginning.

204

New Chinese Readers were adopted "instead of the nursery classics -- the Three Character and the Thousand Character".

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Under the new pedagogy and textbooks, not only could the Chinese pupils learn many characters but also they could use many of them even in their first year

206

to make sentences.

4.5.7 Qualification of the Teachers

Teacher Training

To foster English learning, Hennessy established a normal school to train teachers of English in 1881. As

mentioned in the section on government policies in this chapter, a Normal Class was also run by the government. Irving's Education Report for 1903 recorded,

A Normal Class has already done much to improve their knowledge of the science of teaching.

207

This class only trained in-service teachers for Government schools. Generally, teachers in Grant Schools did not like to attend the Normal Classes at Government Schools.

208

In mission schools, particularly in the Anglican Church, the L.M.S. and the Roman Catholics teacher training of one or two years was practised in some of the higher level classes. Such training turned out to be imperative at the beginning of the 20th century, when the new code provided for education on Western lines and new texts were introduced in mission schools because many teachers were not familiar with education on Western lines. In her Decennial Report 1901-1910, Davies wrote,

The Code of today provides for a thoroughly sound elementary education on modern lines, and the way in which most of the Teachers have worked up to the new requirements is worthy of note and testifies to the latent possibilities of the Chinese as Teachers if it were possible for them to receive a thorough training.

209

Teacher training was crucial in mission schools because, as a rule, the mission schools employed teachers who were church members. Their aim was "to help on the

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time when every Chinese child in the Colony may be able to read the Bible, or at least the New Testament". In fact, many teachers assisted in "evangelistic work

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especially in the Hospitals on Sunday mornings"²¹² or
Sunday Schools.

Teacher training was provided in the Boarding School,
Training Home for Girls, and Women's School of the
L.M.S..²¹³ In the case of the Anglican Church, some
teachers were trained at Victoria Home and Orphanage.²¹⁴
It had been said that "some of the best teachers had been
trained" in the boarding mission schools, for instance,
St. Stephen's church school of the Anglican Church.²¹⁵
Furthermore, in 1892, normal training was given to girls
in Fairlea Girls' School of the Anglican Church. Teacher
training was practised in some of the higher standard
mission day schools, especially by the beginning of the
20th century. Meanwhile, St. Paul's College was also a
place to train teachers for mission schools.²¹⁶

Indeed, teacher training was commonly practised in
girls', but not boys', mission schools. As the Report of
the Committee on Education 1901, Hong Kong, described the
condition of this training,

The Girl Schools stand on a somewhat different
footing. The teachers have been trained in
Mission boarding schools and Convents; and the
influence of their training is manifest in
discipline order and cleanliness....

217

4.5.7.2 Missionaries and Native Preachers

During the period (1877-1905), the missionaries or
their wives taught in mission schools. For instance. Mr.
and Mrs. Ost of the C.M.S. helped in teaching at the

Victoria Home and Orphanage.

Lady missionaries sent by missionary societies increased in number over this period. However, the lady missionaries did not stay long, either because of their marriage or their dislike of the living conditions and people in Hong Kong. A good number of such cases were recorded in a letter written by Pearce (June 13, 1904, ²¹⁸ Hong Kong).

In addition, the wives and daughters of native Christians and ministers, very often, helped as teachers or headteachers. Mrs. Fong Yat Sau, wife of the minister in the C.M.S. at St. Stephen's Church, helped in ²¹⁹ teaching. Pastor Wong's daughter was the Headteacher of Training Home for Girls of the L.M.S..

Meanwhile, missionaries, pastors and evangelists assisted in teaching and catechising the children in ²²⁰ scripture. The priests frequently acted as the English and scripture teachers if it was necessary. As Wells' Decennial Report 1891-1900 observed,

Nearly all the teachers of our schools are Christians and several of them are or have been preachers.

²²¹

4.5.7.3 Native Teachers

The financial problems precluded getting enough native teachers. As Davies wrote in her Report for 1896, the unwillingness of teachers to take the risk of teaching in distant villages was due to the fact that pupils were

not easily found,²²² and the teachers had to work as
medical practitioners.²²³

Moreover, the high cost of living placed a heavy burden on native teachers. Wells in his Report for 1902 stated,

The price of food and the cost of living has been raised so much that a number of teacher find it impossible to maintain.....They get into debt.

In fact, the difficulty in employing native teachers still existed. The loss of teachers was one of the main problems in running a school.²²⁴ Davies' Decennial Report for 1891-1900 (Hong Kong) stated that one of her good teachers went to the Anglican Church for a higher salary.²²⁵
²²⁶

Wells wrote in the Report for 1903,

1 (school under my care) closed due to (the fact that) the teacher got the appointment to Honolulu.

²²⁷
So, in this period (1877-1905), teacher shortage was a problem to mission schools.

Nevertheless, at the end of this period in all the Grant Schools, except the English schools, Chinese teachers took a major role in instruction. The Report of the Committee on Education 1901, Hong Kong, noted,

(Among all Anglo-Chinese Grant Schools) except in the Roman Catholic Cathedral School (taught by Lay Brothers with the assistance of Chinese masters), the instruction is left entirely to the Chinese teachers.

²²⁸
As a matter of fact, especially by the turn of the century, many of the native teachers had been educated in

mission schools. They had a knowledge of Bible and they were certain to have a prescribed level of education.

4.5.7.4 Teachers in Boarding Schools

Teachers in boarding schools were not easy to find, particularly in girls' schools. Davies wrote in her Report for 1903;

Teachers for boarding school are always very difficult to find, as they must be able to give themselves entirely to the work.

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So, the teachers in these boarding schools were usually either widows or young ladies. Even so, young lady teachers frequently left the school on their marriage.

4.5.8 Reactions of Chinese Parents

4.5.8.1 Reaction to Mission Schools

Chinese parents were in favour of the mission schools, basically because of their good discipline and academic standard,²³⁰ apart from their desire to learn English. But, the best Classic teacher was regarded as the main attraction to the largest number of scholars.

Sometimes, the records of the missions revealed some conditions relating the failure to link evangelical work and education, especially in boys' schools, because these boys merely aimed to earn their living. Eitel in his

Report for 1877 stated,

I have not seen much good visible accruing to our native church or evangelistic work from our boys schools although they have been kept going for the last ten years.....But as to girls schools we expect to see more tangible results.

231

Supporting evidence can be found in the L.M.S.'s Report of the Mission 1877 (Jan 16, 1878, Hong Kong) written by J. C. Edge, the manager of Schools under the L.M.S.;

The boys in my school are nearly all heathen.

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One can realize the utilitarian outlook of some of the Chinese in relation to the following figures:

Table 12 Number of Native Christians
 and Pupils of the Anglican Church
 in Hong Kong and Other Cities in China in 1880

Stations	Native Christians	Mission Schools	Scholars in Mission Schools
Hong Kong	157	5	424
Fuh-chow	3000	8	160
Ningpo	565	17	265
Hang-chow	250	4	43
Shaou-hying	34	1	11
Shanghai	64	2	56
Peking	63	2	42

Source: Church Missionary Intelligencer 1880, p.371.

It is worth noting that the ratio of native Christians to pupils in Hong Kong was very different from that in the other cities in China, where there was toleration for evangelism. The ratios are listed below:

Stations	Native Christians : Scholars
Hong Kong	1 : 2.7
Fuh-chow	18.75 : 1
Ningpo	2.13 : 1
Hang-chow	5.81 : 1
Shaou-hying	3.09 : 1
Shanghai	1.14 : 1
Peking	1.50 : 1

For all the cities listed above, except Hong Kong, the number of native Christians was larger than that of pupils, ranging from 1.14 times to 18.75 times. Unlike the other cities, Hong Kong shows a reverse result, i.e. the number of the pupils was 2.7 times of that of native Christians.

Similar results can be seen in the L.M.S., as recorded in the circular dated Feb 13, 1890 prepared by
233
Rev. G. B. Bondfield:

	Church Members	Scholars	Ratio
China	3725	627	5.94 : 1
Hong Kong	257	1431	1 : 5.57

By the turn of the century, many Chinese preferred to attend the government or private Anglo-Chinese schools to avoid religious influence. On the one hand, there was no scripture to learn. English was included in the curriculum.
234
On the other hand, in government schools, the facilities and the teachers due to higher salaries were comparatively much better, particularly at the

secondary level. Davies' Report for 1895 (Hong Kong), also pointed out that many girls preferred the Public School for Girls, particularly the Eurasians and elder girls because they did not have to learn scripture, and²³⁵ could acquire English if they wanted to.

From the Educational Report for 1903 (Hong Kong), one can see the rapid development of (government and private) Anglo-Chinese Schools as well as private vernacular schools.

Table 13 Comparison of Number of Pupils
and Schools in Government, Grant
and Private Schools in 1903

Types of School	Govt. Schools	Grant Schools (Mission Sch.)	Private Schools
	No. of Scholars(Sch)	No. of Scholars(Sch)	No. of Scholars(Sch)
Anglo-Chinese	1205 (4)	760 (8)	663 (23)
Vernacular	271 (6)	1890 (53)	2263 (95)
English	141 (2)	892 (9)	
Total	1617 (12)	3542 (70)	2926(118)

Source: "Report for the Inspector of Schools, for the year 1903", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1904.

Note: Number of scholars reckoned by the average attendance.

Meanwhile, the reaction from the Chinese community was the "establishment of the Confucian Church (temple) or cult"²³⁶ and Chinese vernacular schools aiming to counterbalance the influence of Christianity and mission schools. The schools established by the Chinese community

had no connection with the Grant-in-aid System. This situation can be detected in the Hong Kong Administrative Reports of 1881 and 1882 which informed us of the fact. Most of the Chinese schools were tutorial classes and the large ones were subordinated to charity societies or supported by the guild or temple funds. As Wells (Decennial Report for 1901-1910, Hong Kong) stated,

A Chinese committee has started a large school which has nearly 800 scholars, and they are putting up a magnificent building in which they expect to take over 1000 students.

237

Despite the fact that the Chinese schools received no government grant, they were still established to maintain the Chinese tradition and nurture the Chinese youngsters. By the early 20th century no school from the Chinese community had joined the Grant-in-aid Scheme. These private non-religious schools accounted for a drastic decrease in the enrolment of mission schools at the end of this period (1877-1905).

4.5.8.2 Reaction to Curriculum

In this period (1877-1905), parents generally still regarded Chinese Classics highly. If the parents wanted their children to be educated, they preferred Chinese education to European education, apart from learning English.

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In 1888, three-fifths of all the students in mission schools obtaining government aid received a non-English education of the native mode, except for Geography (in

many also Arithmetic) which were added.

The Hong Kong Annual Education Report for 1881 reported that a mission school with a European education in the Chinese language, had very irregular attendance and low enrolment, whilst another mission school with a Chinese education, in the immediate neighbourhood, was far better both in frequency of attendance and enrolment. The only explanation that Eitel could give was that the parents evidently cared more for a good Chinese education²³⁹ than a good European one for their children. So, a wholly Chinese education with Chinese Classics teaching was more desirable for Chinese parents. As Davies' Report for 1893 wrote,

....those parents are non-Christians (most of our Day Scholars) do not consider and allow a child to continue at a school if he is taught only books of which they know nothing.

²⁴⁰

The Educational Report for 1896 (Hong Kong), also recorded:

the mass of the population desire no other than Chinese education.

²⁴¹

Regarding the reactions of Chinese parents and students to religious subjects, Chalmers' Report for 1883 noted,

....the rareness of objections on the part of the parents to our Christian teaching is a very encouraging sign.

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In a later Report for 1886, Chalmers wrote that among his twenty-one schools there were between 500 and 600 children, a large proportion of whom were children of

heathen parents. These children could give intelligent answers and explain, as well as recite, the designated parts of Creed or Bible.²⁴³

In the case of the C.M.S., Ost in his letter dated March 1, 1890 (Hong Kong), indicated that scripture teaching was nearly the same as that of the earlier period.²⁴⁴

Although Chinese parents generally did not pay attention to scripture learning, the pressure from society existed, as Ost indicated,

One (teacher assistant) is kept back from being baptized owing to the opposition of his friends.

²⁴⁵

The boy read the Scripture and his uncle removed him and burnt it.

²⁴⁶

The demand for English increased greatly in the early 20th century, because of the economic need in a commercial society, the gradual abolition of the Imperial Examination and the need to take the Cambridge or Oxford Local Examinations as well as to prepare students to enter the University which was to be established in Hong Kong.

The majority of the students studying in mission schools wanted to learn English or be educated, but not as Christians. As Rev. J. Grundy commented in his letter dated Nov 23, 1881,

Their (Students') knowledge of the sacred scriptures is often very striking; though I fear it seldom goes deeper than the memory. During my three years' experience not one scholar (and some of them are sixteen years of age, and have been in the schools four or five years) has expressed a

desire to become a Christian.

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The recitation of books was a traditional study method in China. Students studying in the mission schools did not intend to acquire Faith in God. They regarded the Scriptures as a subject to be learnt.

By the late 19th century, Hong Kong was a manifestly growing mercantile community. A fair knowledge of English was lucrative. Many students entered mission schools in order to learn English. Very few of the students wanted to devote themselves to the missionary enterprise.

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In Wells' Report for 1898 (Hong Kong), it was stated that,

The teaching of English seems to be a great attraction.

249

Large numbers of pupils received English education as can be shown by the following statistics taken from the Hong Kong Educational Report for 1898:

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Year	Govt. & Grant Schools No. of Pupils Learning English	% Out of the Total Pupils Under Govt. Supervision
1878	478	19
1888	1469	26
1898	2933	40

Rev. E. J. Barnett, the Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College of the C.M.S., wrote to his friends in Australia on June 1, 1903, stating,

Many (of the students) are begging to be taught English. They are willing to pay well for it....

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One can gain a fuller picture of this phenomenon by

noting the increasing number of private Anglo-Chinese schools at the turn of the century. Although these schools charged fees, many Chinese were enrolled.

In short, the pupils who attended the mission schools were not genuine converts. English education enabled them to secure good jobs. As a matter of fact, the growth of mission schools did not necessarily reflect the increasing interest of people in the Christian Faith.

In response to the new methods of teaching introduced in 1902, parents objected to any departure from the old method of rote memory of the Chinese Classics. They continued to stress learning by rote and the study of classical texts. As Wells wrote (Report for 1902, Hong Kong);

Many parents object to any departure from the old method saying that their children will learn how to explain what they read if they read long enough, but a giving minority are in favour of some new method.

252

This condition seemed not to change in the following years, as ten years later, the Hong Kong Administrative Report 1912 stated that in some vernacular day schools Chinese parents still liked the traditional teaching. The traditional operation of the schools was described:

Little or no explanation of reading matter is given; the main idea being to memorise as much as possible.

253

The average parent would appear to be quite satisfied if the children are kept in school for a certain number of hours each school day, and can repeat from memory, each week, a few more sentences from the Classics.

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A very noticeable feature in many cases was the part taken by parents or guardians of pupils; they decide what books shall be studied by their children.

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4.5.8.3 Reaction to Female Education

By the end of the 19th century, parents became interested in female education. As Endacott pointed out in the late 19th century,

....the change which had taken place in the Chinese attitude towards education for girls meant that many Chinese were now taking the initiative.

256

During the first half of the period (1877-1905) the vast majority of the uneducated children of the Colony were girls, mostly purchased servant girls. Inevitably, these girls had no chance to be educated. Eitel wrote in the Annual Report for 1881 (Hong Kong) indicating the educational treatment of these purchased servant girls,

Although the Chinese are, as a rule, very anxious to send their own children to school, they do not care to give their purchased servant girls any education.

257

In fact, in the 1890s according to the Hong Kong educational reports, the purchased servant girls and the daughters of the boat-population still received no education.

By the turn of the 20th century, parents were still not keen to send their daughters to school regularly. In 1893, there were only 358 average daily attendances for 616 female pupils in Davies' schools. In her Report for 1893 (Hong Kong), Davies explained the

case,

Many (girls) come for a time, and then return to the country while others are kept away for any trivial matter in which they can lend a helping hand.

258

The educated women were not easily accepted, and some girls were accustomed to the limited educational opportunities. Davies (May 8, 1895, Hong Kong) analysed these social conditions:

The educated and enlightened women have great influence in their Home,....which unenlightened Chinamen very greatly dread, so that the cry still comes from many quarters: -- "we do not want, and we will not have, our women taught"

259

In 1899, due to the growing demand for Chinese girls education, Fairlea was made to cater for educating only Chinese girls. This school was initially established as an Anglican School in 1892 for European and Eurasian girls. As a consequence, new provision was made for Europeans and Eurasians.

One can see the general desire for girls' education from the fact that even in the missionary girls' school, fees could be charged. Davies wrote,

We were the first Missionary Girls' School (the Girls' Training Home) in the Colony to charge Fees for Education (from 1901), or even full fees for Board.

260

Davies' Decennial Report for 1901-10, pointed out the favourable situation in the early 20th century,

The demand for education for girls in these days is very great, and all Girls' Schools are crowded to the limit imposed by the Director of Education.

261

However, Mrs. Eliza Wells decribed her Women's school with rather less enthusiasm (Report for 1904, Hong Kong),

Troublesome husbands and mothers-in-law often spoil my plans, and I am obliged reluctantly to give up women who work promisingly well and on whom I had set my heart.

262

Finally, the writer would like to point out that embroidery work, especially in Chinese Schools, attracted female students of the poorer classes because "it enabled the girls at a comparatively early age, to contribute towards the support of their families by doing embroidery work for Chinese shops". In other words, it had a distinctly commercial value and had been "appreciated particularly by the poorer classes of parents".

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As a matter of fact, girls' mission schools frequently were very successful in needlework. As the Hong Kong Educational Report for 1888 in relation to the Grant-in-aid Schools reported,

Whilst the needle-work of the Italian Convent School stood hitherto unrivalled in neatness and artistic beauty of its work, there are now several other Schools which are coming pretty near the standard of the Convent School, even with respect to Chinese domestic needle-work.

265

In the light of this situation, mission schools were preferred by Chinese parents with the intention of letting their daughters learn subjects for commercial use.

Yet, girls educated in the English schools increased in number. As Eitel in the Annual Report on Education for 1892 stated,

But the most noteworthy feature as to the forward movement of English education in the Colony is the

fact that among the 1423 scholars in 16 purely English Schools, the girls number 507 or 35.63 per cent.

266

....female education in the Colony is decidedly progressive,....for the first time in the history of the Colony, some girls competed (and that successfully) with boys at the Local Oxford Examinations.

267

These girls studied in Anglo-Chinese schools were generally not poor because they acquired English not for business purpose.

268

An important social problem was related to female education. Some Chinese girls who learnt English threw away old moral ideas; and acquired practically no standards of conduct. They learnt the new Western culture vaguely and fought against authority. Davies (May 8, 1895, Hong Kong) wrote,

269

We find that the women here who have more liberty, and more influence, are apt, from being suddenly released from fathers, to go to the other Extreme, and to claim a freedom and liberties which even we would avoid.

270

Her Decennial Report for 1901-10 stated clearly in relation to the problem,

They have lost the old (restrictions and limitations), and the new is altogether vague and undefined. They have escaped from control before they have learned anything of true self-control. They have the wildest ideas as to what is done by girls and women in Western lands, and think it a mark of spirit and ability to fight against all authority, and to defy laws and regulations.

271

The writer argues that this was the result of misunderstanding the Western culture, and social problem ensued as the consequence. This was why Davies stressed a female education which trained the girls to accept a high

level of morality through the Chinese language. Certainly, this was one of the reasons why, until the early 20th century, Chinese parents were still opposed to girls' education, especially in the Anglo-Chinese or English Schools. Another reason was that English acquired by girls was not for business purpose.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, because of the liberal Government Grant-in-aid Scheme, both the Catholic and the Protestant missions in Hong Kong developed their schools. Meanwhile, economic progress made Hong Kong an attractive place both to develop and live in.

However, many other obstacles to missionary education arose in this period (1877-1905). Poor health caused mainly by plagues resulted in low pupil attendance and a reduction in government grants. The fostering of English by the Government was another obstacle to missions which ran vernacular schools. Generally speaking, the already established Anglo-Chinese schools run by the Roman Catholics and Anglican Church developed fast and well. In addition, schools set up by the natives counterchecked the development of mission schools particularly on vernacular education. Furthermore, owing to the educational reform in China, these mission schools had to adapt to the change in curriculum and teaching method.

The dominant role of Chinese education was mainly due to the powerful influence of the Imperial Examination through which prominent scholars could take up important Chinese Government posts which meant status and wealth. This was based on the ideology of advancement through the scholasticism, although intrinsically individuals might have no chance to take this Examination. Thus, only those who perceived the pragmatic value of English from either friends or relatives working in the commercial field, learnt English.

It was not until the final abolition of the Imperial Examination in the beginning of the 20th century that Western education gradually superseded the Chinese education and the private Anglo-Chinese schools grew in number as a consequence. Then, the influence of mission schools became obvious.

During the decline of the Imperial Examination, a revised curriculum which included Western subjects by the Chinese Government forced the scholars to change their old ideology. Consequently, Western education, with its significant implications for the curriculum, pedagogy and the medium of instruction, increased its dominance in Hong Kong. It implied a wider curriculum which included subjects like geography, arithmetic and the like but was not limited to the Chinese Classics only. Rote-memory was no longer regarded as of utmost importance. English was gradually used as the medium of instruction since pupils

had to sit for the Oxford or Cambridge Local Examinations in Hong Kong and later prepare for the entrance examination to the University of Hong Kong which was set up in 1912, instead of the Imperial Examination.

With regard to the development of mission schools during the period 1877 to 1905, although they grew in importance, they were in competition with schools set up by community groups including guilds, clans, Kaifong Associations (associations of the neighbourhood) and charity groups.

All these private schools charged school fees, except 6 schools under the Tung Wah Hospital, a large Chinese charitable group. The table below shows the keen competition in vernacular education between the mission schools and private schools:

Table 14 Comparison of Number of Schools and Students in Vernacular Grant Schools and Private Schools at the Turn of the 20th Century

Year	Grant Schools Sch(Students) (Average Attendance)	Private Schools Sch(Students)	% of Students in Grant Private Schools Schools	
1897	77 (2618)	96 (2124)	55	45
1899	67 (2270)	93 (2058)	53	47
1901	57 (1926)	95 (2457)	44	56
1903	53 (1890)	84 (2263)	46	54

Source: (1) "Report of the Committee on Education", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.

(2) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1904.

Although many private schools had poor facilities and a small number of pupils, their existence reinforced the traditional spirit among the Chinese community because they received no grant from the government. As Eitel wrote,

Public spirit among the Chinese vented itself in guild meetings, processions and temple-committees.

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Many of the Chinese who did not like religious education and English, preferred to enroll in the schools set up by the Chinese although they had to pay school fees. Consequently, though mission schools during this period (1877-1905) developed more favourably, they had to compete with both the private and government schools.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

- (1) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.235.
- (2) See Stewart's Reports on the Central School for 1865, 1866 and 1867 (Hong Kong Government Gazettes, 1866, 1867 and 1868).
- (3) E. A. Irving, op.cit., p.3.
- (4) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.
- (5) CWM Archives: South China, Box8.
- (6) "Annual Report on Government Education", Hong Kong Administrative Report 1879.
- (7) Ibid.
- (8) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Chalmers' Decennial Report for 1881-1890, Hong Kong.
- (9) Hong Kong Administrative Report 1879-80.
- (10) E. A. Irving, op.cit., p.3.
- (11) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.234.
- (12) Hong Kong Administrative Report 1879.
- (13) "Educational Report for 1888", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box1.
- (16) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.240.
- (17) Ibid., p.239.
- (18) Ibid.
- (19) Ibid.
- (20) Ibid., p.220.
- (21) Ibid., p.212.

- (22) Ibid., pp.240-1.
- (23) Hong Kong Sessional Papers (1894-1901).
- (24) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.241.
- (25) Ibid., p.240.
- (26) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1903.
- (27) E. A. Irving, op.cit., p.4.
- (28) See 1904 Grant Code.
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- (30) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Report for 1905.
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- (32) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box3.
- (33) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Report for 1899, Hong Kong.
- (34) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.236.
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- (37) Ng Lun Ngai-ha, Interactions of East and West: Development of Public Education in Early Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 1984, p.74.
- (38) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.237.
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- (41) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.
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- (43) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Report for 1905, Hong Kong.

- (44) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box1.
- (45) MMS Archives: Canton, Box489.
- (46) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.10.
- (47) MMS Archives: Canton, Box490.
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) Ibid.
- (50) Ibid.
- (51) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.7.
- (52) Ibid., p.8.
- (53) MMS Archives: Canton, box489.
- (54) Ibid.
- (55) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.8.
- (56) Ibid.
- (57) Wang Chih-hsin, op.cit., pp.206-7.
- (58) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.208.
- (59) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Chalmers' Report for 1884.
- (60) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1894, p.757, Rev. Bennett's letter (July 25, 1894, Hong Kong).
- (61) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Government Report (July 20, 1894) quoted from Miss. Davies' Report for 1884.
- (62) Ibid.
- (63) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box4.
- (64) CWM Archives: China-- odd 6, Minute Book 2, Report for 1912, p.2.
- (65) Ibid.
- (66) Ibid.
- (67) CWM Archives: China-- Odd 6.

- (68) Many cases were recorded in Davies' Report for 1893 (CWM Archives: South China-- Reports). Some caused parents coming into conflict with their daughters and missionaries.
- (69) CWM Archives: G4, Box4.
- (70) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box4.
- (71) CWM Archives: G4, Legge's letter (Jan 29, 1850, Hong Kong).
- (72) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1898, Hong Kong.
- (73) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1895, Hong Kong.
- (74) Annual Letter 1889-90, P.310.
- (75) CWM Archives: China-- Odd 6, Book 1 (1904-1932).
- (76) G. B. Endacott & D. E. She, op.cit., p.154.
- (77) Ibid.
- (78) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Edge's Report for 1882, Hong Kong.
- (79) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Chalmers' Report for 1885, Hong Kong.
- (80) For Details, see the annual reports for the years 1880-1900 (CWM Archives: South China-- Reports).
- (81) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Report for 1898, Hong Kong.
- (82) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Report for 1899, Hong Kong.
- (83) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Decennial Report for 1901-10, Hong Kong.
- (84) Ibid.
- (85) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Decennial Report for 1901-10, Hong Kong.
- (86) CWM Archives: South China--Reports, Wells' Report for 1908, Hong Kong.
- (87) Ibid.

- (88) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Decennial Report for 1901-10, Hong Kong.
- (89) Ibid.
- (90) Ibid.
- (91) The fund for the College, partly from the L.M.S. (\$14,000) and partly collected from J. Chalmers (\$8,000). For details, see G. H. Choa, op.cit., p.60.
- (92) Ibid., p.57.
- (93) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Report for 1908, Hong Kong.
- (94) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.153.
- (95) The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macao, op.cit., p.156.
- (96) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.156.
- (97) Ibid., p.157.
- (98) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., pp.158-9.
- (99) Refer to the Hong Kong Sessional Papers (1890-1900).
- (100) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.10.
- (101) MMS Archives: Canton 1893-1905.
- (102) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.9.
- (103) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.391.
- (104) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1898, Hong Kong.
- (105) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Report for 1907, Hong Kong.
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- (107) "Annual (Educational) Report for 1881", Hong Kong Administrative Report 1880-81.
- (108) "Report of the Committee on Education", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.
- (109) "The Educational Report for 1888", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889.

- (110) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, B12, F4, JA, 1894, Ngai Shang Industrical Mission.
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- (112) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1905.
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- (115) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Report for 1898.
- (116) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1894, Hong Kong.
- (117) Ibid.
- (118) CWM Archives: South China, Miss. Rowe's letter (July 22, 1896, Hong Kong).
- (119) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Annual Report for 1896, Hong Kong.
- (120) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2.
- (121) CWM Archives: South China, Rowe's letter (July 22, 1896, Hong Kong).
- (122) CWM Archives: South China, Davies' letter (Sept 18, 1894, Hong Kong).
- (123) CWM Archives: South China, Box 13.
- (124) CWM Archives: South China, Box13.
- (125) MMS Archives: Canton, Box490.
- (126) "Inspector's Report for 1904", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1905.
- (127) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1898, Hong Kong.
- (128) Ibid.
- (129) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Report for 1898.
- (130) MMS Archives, Canton, Box490.

- (131) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.
- (132) Ibid.
- (133) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports.
- (134) CWM Archives: South China, Box12.
- (135) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box3.
- (136) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box6.
- (137) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Mrs. Wells' Report for 1904, Hong Kong.
- (138) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Report for 1905, Hong Kong.
- (139) C. T. Smith, Chinese Christians, op.cit., p.4.
- (140) Wong Chisuen, op.cit., p.16.
- (141) C. T. Smith, Chinese Christians, op.cit., p.183.
- (142) J. Y. L. Chung, op.cit., p.19.
- (143) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1902, pp.66-7.
- (144) C . T. Smith, Chinese Christians, op.cit., p.3.
- (145) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1891, Hong Kong.
- (146) Hong Kong Administrative Report 1880-81.
- (147) Ibid.
- (148) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.
- (149) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1892, Hong Kong.
- (150) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Report for 1905, Hong Kong.
- (151) Hong Kong Administrative Report 1891.
- (152) For details, see R. Lovett, op.cit., p.389.
- (153) CWM Archives: Eastern Outgoing Letters-- China, Whitehouse's letter (Oct 17, 1879, London) to Dr. Chalmers.
- (154) Ibid.

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- (157) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2.
- (158) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box4.
- (159) Annual Letter 1889-90, p.310.
- (160) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1901, p.551.
- (161) MMS Archives: China (Canton), Box490.
- (162) Ibid.
- (163) Christian Mission in Hongkong, op.cit., p.7-10.
- (164) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box1.
- (165) CWM Archives: Pearce's Report for 1896.
- (166) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Decennial Report for 1901-10, Hong Kong.
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- (168) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Decennial Report for 1901-10, Hong Kong.
- (169) CWM Archives: G4, Davies' letter (Jan 28, 1899, Hong Kong).
- (170) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box3.
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- (172) CWM Archives: G4, Davies' letter (July 26, 1893, Hong Kong).
- (173) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1901, Hong Kong.
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- (175) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.
- (176) Ibid.
- (177) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Mrs. Wells' Report for 1906, Hong Kong.

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- (179) Hong Kong Administrative Report 1880-81.
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- (181) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Rowe's Report for 1889, Hong Kong.
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- (183) R. Lovett, op.cit., Vol.2, p.462.
- (184) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889.
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- (193) "The Educational Report for 1892", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1893.
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- (202) CWM Archives: South China: Reports, Wells' Report for 1903, Hong Kong.
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- (205) "Inspector's Report 1903", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1904.
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- (209) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports.
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- (211) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Decennial Report for 1901-1910, Hong Kong.
- (212) Ibid.
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- (214) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.13.
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- (216) Annual Letter 1902, p.515, Rev. G. A. Bunbury's letter (Nov 22, 1902, Hong Kong).
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- (220) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Pearce's Report for 1898, Hong Kong.
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- (224) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Wells' Report for 1902.
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- (226) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box3.
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- (233) CWM Archives: G4, Bonfield's letter (March 7, 1890, Hong Kong).
- (234) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Decennial Report for 1891-1900, Hong Kong.
- (235) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Decennial Report for 1901-10, Hong Kong.
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- (237) Ibid.
- (238) Hong Kong Administrative Report 1883.
- (239) "Annual (Educational) Report for 1881", Hong Kong Administrative Report 1880-81.
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- (243) G. Cousin, op.cit., p.27.
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- (254) Ibid.
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- (260) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box4.
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- (262) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box3.
- (263) "The Educational Report for 1892", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1893.
- (264) Ibid.
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- (269) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Decennial Report for 1901-10.

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(272) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.282.

Chapter V CONCLUSION AND PREDICTIONS

5.1 Conclusion: Past Achievement of Mission Schools

The main aim of the mission schools was related to conversion. The argument of whether, or not, teaching children is directly mission work emerged in the 19th century and has continued to the present day. It has been argued that despite education not having an immediate effect on conversion, "the schools are the hope of the mission".¹

The missions attempted to influence society through education in order to promote the opportunities of conversion among the heathen. Therefore, the popularity of education was important in the Propagation of the Gospel. As Holmes observed,

...their (mission schools') subsequent popularity helped to determine their long-range influence.

²
The long-range influence of mission schools measures the achievement of mission schools, whether considered as their influence on the individuals, masses, governments or missions. In Hong Kong, the influence of mission schools on Chinese Society was obvious, although this might not have been their ultimate purpose.

5.1.1 The Development of Female Education

5.1.1.1 Success in Girls' Education

Owing to traditional Chinese indifference to girls'

education, the missions helped in this field. Yet, many impediments blocked the progress, including finance, and traditional Chinese ideology, which the writer has explained earlier. In fact, female education was a breakthrough which not only unbound women's feet (in traditional China, women bound their feet), but also unbound their minds.

In the writer's opinion, in developing female education, the work done by the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, should not be neglected, particularly in the second half of the 19th century when female education was still ignored in the charitable schools set up by the Chinese community groups or clans.

During the 1840s-1860s in Hong Kong, girls' schools were almost exclusively established by the missionary societies while little work was done by the government. The question of why female education was developed by the missionary societies may be posed. To answer the question, the writer has to refer to the attitudes of both sides, i.e. the missionary societies and the Chinese Society. The differences in attitude between the missionaries and the Chinese were obvious. The latter disregarded female education completely. As Legge (Feb 1, 1845, Hong Kong) stated,

We are indeed directly met in this matter by Chinese prejudices. To educate females, and treat them, of equal worth with the other sex, is in the

apprehension of this people a subversion of the order of society. It is, however, true that neither religion nor any of the advantages of a true civilization can flourish in China, until women are elevated to their proper position and made competent to fulfil their duties, as Christian relatives and mothers.

Nevertheless, women in Hong Kong were easier to approach than those in China.³ Accordingly, the development of female education in Hong Kong was easier.⁴ In the writer's opinion, undoubtedly, this was primarily connected with the following reasons:

(a) Women in Hong Kong had more chance to be in contact with foreigners than those in China. Western culture affected their attitude.

(b) The Clan system was not so strong, particularly on Hong Kong Island where Chinese culture was comparatively weak. Later, people immigrated to Hong Kong only to earn a living. Therefore less pressure was exerted by relatives.

The first girls' school in Hong Kong was set up by Rev. Jehu Lewis Shuck,⁵ a minister of the American Baptist Mission, with his wife, in 1843. It was a simple girls' study hall in their religious preaching room.

Several girls' schools appeared gradually thereafter, for instance, the Anglo-Chinese Girls' School (set up in 1846 by Legge's wife), the Italian Convent School (set up in 1850 by the Canossian Sisters), the French Convent School, the Diocesan Native Female Training School (set up

in 1860 by Bishop Smith's wife) and the Basel Mission Girls' School (set up in 1862 by Rev. Rudolph Lechler's wife).⁶ The Baxter Mission Schools were set up by Miss Harriet Baxter in 1860. In 1886, the Baxter Schools were changed to the Female Education Society. Generally speaking, this mission worked among Chinese and Eurasian women and girls.

The establishment of orphanages or boarding schools for girls was one of the most important works done by the missions. Numerous ill-treated and unwanted girls lacked care because of the low female status in society.

In 1883, Rowe of the L.M.S. began the rescue of ill-used slave girls,⁷ for whom the government could not do much but who might pose serious problems for society. Her Report for 1887 (Hong Kong), emphasized that Refuges for domestic girls were needed as a matter of urgency,

for that misfortunate class of children known here as "domestics"-- girls who have been bought, or more frequently stolen from their friends, and sold again as slaves into Chinese families often of the violent class.

⁸
Rev. Ost of the Anglican Church in his letter (March 1, 1890, Hong Kong) indicated the major work done by the Victoria Home and Orphanage. It provided Christian teaching for the daughters of Chinese and rescued orphans and destitute children and young girls who had been sold into slavery.

Mal-treatment of girls was illustrated in Miss R.

Bachelor's letter to the C.M.S. (Dec 28, 1902, Kowloon),

Chinese slavery is domestic slavery, and being at the mercy (except in Hong Kong) of their masters and mistresses, who freely sell them at will like cattle. In Hong Kong some check is kept upon this system, and cruelty is, of course, punished.

9

Bachelor's school, the Victoria Home and Orphanage, accommodated 50 girls in that year. Some of them were ill-treated girls or young maids.

The Roman Catholics had success in this kind of work much earlier and more consistently than the Protestant missions and the Chinese charitable groups. This has been mentioned in Chapter II.

Generally speaking, until the beginning of the 20th century, female education was mainly conducted by the mission schools. From the figures below, we can see, relatively, how successful they were:

Table 15 Girls Educated in Hong Kong in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century

Year	Total	Girls in Govt. Sch.	Girls in Mission Sch. (Grant-in-aid)	% of Girls in Mission Schools Out of Total
1878	578	235	343	59.34
1879	610	179	431	70.65
1880	702	138	564	80.34
1881	859	120	739	80.03
1892	2942	238	2704	91.90

Sources: Figures compiled from the statistics in the Hong Kong annual educational reports.

Eitel, in the Annual (Educational) Report for 1881, wrote,

Apart from the Girls' Schools under Government inspection, and numbering in 1881 but 859 girls, there are very few girls' schools in existence in the Colony.

10

Female education under the supervision of missions was quite important. But in this year (1881), girls' education was still comparatively undeveloped, as Eitel wrote:

I have stated above my opinion that a vast majority of the 8000 uneducated children of the Colony are girls.

11

Few girls studied in private schools due to the Chinese traditional ideology. Private schools were not under government supervision. The number of pupils was not clear. According to the Educational Report for 1888 (Hong Kong), only 25 girls out of 1704 pupils were in private schools¹² which ran on Chinese educational lines with few lady teachers. Despite their poor facilities, they charged school fees.

Nevertheless, we should throw light on the progress of girls' education under the supervision of the government. The percentage of female pupils out of the total number of pupils is shown below:

Table 16 Female Pupils in Schools
under the Government Supervision

Year	Govt. & Grant-in-aid Sch.	Total Scholars	Female Scholars		% Out of Total
			Govt.	Mission Sch.	
1853	19 (Govt.)	937	64	(no figures)	6.8
1880	74	3886	138	564	18.1
1888	112	6258	129	1787	30.6
1895	122	7816	380	2593	38.0
1901	92	7850	584	2377	37.7

Sources: Figures compiled from the statistics in the Hong Kong annual educational reports.

In fact, the Grant-in-aid Scheme helped a good deal in the development of female education because the subscriptions from the missionary societies or local communities were minimal. As Rowe stated in her Report for 1887,

The gradual advance of female education in the Colony is entirely the result of the successful working of the grant-in-aid scheme and under it due to the alacrity and continued energy with which the several missionary societies develop that scheme.

13

There was a growing demand for education among Chinese girls by the end of the 19th century. This condition can be confirmed by referring to the conversion of the Fairlea School of the Anglican Church for the Chinese girls instead of European and Eurasian girls. This has been discussed in the section on reactions of Chinese parents in Chapter IV. This showed the Chinese

parental concern for girls' education as well as the achievement of girls' education in mission schools.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the girls' schools run by the missionary societies, i.e. the L.M.S., the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Missions, were more in terms of the number of schools or enrolment than boys' schools. Undoubtedly, these missions regarded female education as of great importance.

According to Chalmers' Decennial Report for 1880-1890¹⁴ (Feb 12, 1891, Hong Kong), there were several years when girls in the schools or grants for girls were more than boys. The comparison in these years is shown below:

	No. of Schools	Scholars Present	Grant(H.K.\$)
1883 boys	7	323	2135.05
girls	9	303	2371.12
1885 boys	9	408	1919.68
girls	11	363	2470.83
1886 boys	7	440	1900.92
girls	13	431	2920.54
1887 boys	8	408	2164.21
girls	12	428	2574.65
1889 boys	8	481	2525.27
girls	12	441	2627.65

In the writer's opinion, a possible reason can be found in the fact that girls could obtain special grants for needlework. Besides, the fluctuating attendance of boys had to be taken into account. Chalmers wrote a few words about this fact that "(the boys) about 40 per cent attended only for part of the year",¹⁵ and generally only

50-60% entered the examinations because students would stop their studies if they got any employment or if they had not sufficient attendance to enter the examination. In contrast, many girls were abandoned and they could not easily find jobs in this male-dominated society, so they remained in school.

Belatedly, in 1890, the first government girls' school, the "Government Central School for Girls" was established. The establishment of the first government girls' school came 48 years after the first girls' mission school although a few girls had been accepted in government schools in the 1850s.

In 1890, girls under the Female Educational Society were taken over by the C.M.S.. Therefore, more girls attended the C.M.S. schools. Meanwhile, more girls were educated in government schools. In short, the success in female education under the auspices of the missionary societies was immense.

5.1.1.2 Success in Conversion of Girls

Girls brought up in the Orphanages or boarding schools accepted faith in God easily and readily. They were regarded as good seeds for the religious society.

Girls from the L'asile de la St. Enfance are good examples. They were mostly abandoned children or orphans. When they wanted to marry, the Fathers, inside or outside

Hong Kong, might find young Christian men from their districts to marry them.¹⁶ Through the harmony of the Catholic family and their religious influence on their offspring, it was clearly a very successful way to spread the Word of God.

Christian girls were like seeds in the soil. Since these girls experienced a Christian school life in their childhood, they became the true hearted Christian mothers of the future. Hence, they could teach their children from their early years to read the Bible and pray. They could influence their family to recognize God even if¹⁷ their husbands were heathen.

Even when the girls were not yet converts, after they had left the Christian schools their knowledge of the faith could be useful at any time. So, the writer argues, their influence is difficult to evaluate, but probably great.

In the writer's opinion, this religious aspect was a main and implicit function within female education. The boys' schools could not advance much in the religious fields, because of the boys' pragmatism.

Undeniably, to disseminate the Gospel by means of girls' education was much more successful than similar work with boys. Consequently, the development of girls' education rather than boys' was more desirable from the missions' point of view.

We should understand that women's status could not be raised if they did not receive any education. In this respect, the missionaries emphasized the equality of the sexes. Davies' letter (May 8, 1895, Hong Kong) stressed,

Knowledge is power, and the more knowledge the women get, the greater their power must be.

18

5.1.1.3 Success in Training of Bible-Women and Teachers

From the viewpoint of the missionaries, training a good deal of Bible-women or school-mistresses in mission schools was a basic step for the development of evangelism. The main reasons for this was that it was easier and more convenient for the Chinese female heathen to contact people of the same race and sex, according to the rigid Chinese custom. Hence, such a training was needed. As Legge and Chalmers wrote in their letter (Jan 12, 1855, Hong Kong),

The female population is in a great measure inaccessible to missionaries, owing to the prevailing notions of the Chinese about female decorum.

19

The solution to this problem was presented in the Church Missionary Intelligencer 1884, in a letter from Ost (Hong Kong) which stated,

In a few weeks we hope to open a class for the training of female helpers, either as bible-women or school-mistresses.... We have long felt the want of a class of this kind, as we have a number of unlettered female converts, who ought to receive instruction of some kind.

20

Male missionaries did not have easy access to Chinese females because of the preconceived notion that they were evil. Thus, female preachers were more efficacious in propagating the Gospel among Chinese women.

Moreover, preaching in the hospitals, prisons or native villages were more convenient and convincing kinds of work which were done by females. A letter from Miss L. A. Eyre (Jan 20, 1903, Hong Kong) was explicit on this objective that out of twelve female pupils, eight had full employment, visiting and teaching in the Colony and in the villages around, and three were in training for Bible-women's work, in hospital, prison and native village work.
21

Another letter written by Miss A. M. Pitts (Jan 1903, Hong Kong) stated that the development of female education was imperative in view of the importance of spreading the Gospel,

Only two or three of the eleven or twelve (trained Bible-women) who attend can read, so you can see how important are these weekly instruction classes.

22

As a matter of fact, it is plain to see how important female education was in the evangelical work of the missions because "this involves trained Bible teachers
23
with at least an average general education behind them".

Illiterate Chinese females needed to be trained to take up this work.

Among women educated in the mission schools, some

became Bible-women or teachers. It was a means for females to earn their living in the face of the difficulty of finding jobs in a male-dominated society.

5.1.1.4 Conclusion

By the end of the 19th century, it was still maintained that females needed education in Chinese but not English. The traditional conservative ideas among Chinese people were still an impediment to English education. Eitel, in the Education Report for 1888 (Hong Kong), wrote,

It is vain to expect the Chinese residents to put forth any effort in the direction of promoting English or Anglo-Chinese female education.

24

As regards Chinese girls whose parents do not aim higher than giving their daughters a purely Chinese, that is non-English, education, the Grant-in-Aid Scheme is doing, or capable of doing if availed of, all that is needful.

25

It is worthy of note that in the early 20th century, the attitude towards female education among the Chinese changed. Fathers sought the best education for their daughters, and young men sought wives with the highest attainment.²⁶

This has been mentioned in the section on reactions of Chinese parents in Chapter IV. Those broad-minded people may have been educated along Western education lines in earlier decades.

If we compare the female education in Hong Kong with

that in China, where the first school for girls was²⁷ founded by the Roman Catholics in 1800, the progress of the female education in Hong Kong was comparatively quicker. The movement of female education sponsored by the missionary societies or foreigners in China was distrusted by the Chinese Government and people. As a consequence, relatively slow progress in female education resulted.

5.1.2 Cultivation of the Elite and Leaders

There were religious, social, economic, and political factors which led the mission schools in Hong Kong to help in the cultivation of the elite and leaders.

In order to attract pupils and spread Christian education, the mission schools had to provide a first-rate education. As F. Hughes-Hallett in his book China Looking West, wrote,

We cannot afford to have second-rate mission schools, for such schools will not only fail to attract pupils, but will also bring discredit upon the whole cause of Christian education. Once let the impression get abroad that a mission school education comes short of the best possible and our opportunity will probably be gone for ever.

28

From the time when Hong Kong was founded to nearly 60 years later, a high educational standard was emphasized and persevered. As Pearce in the Report for 1899 (Hong Kong), stated,

To the purpose we have in view schools of the first class are still of chief importance.

29

The results in the examinations were superb and the students were assured of being among the top intellectuals.

Ost's letter (July 1884, Hong Kong) gave information of the high pass rates of the mission schools of the Anglican Church,

....the result of the Government examination has been highly gratifying. In three schools, presenting respectively 76, 62 and 33 children for examination, not a single failure has been recorded. In the remaining five schools an average of 91 percent passed. This is encouraging, is it not?

30

In addition, an annual letter from Ost (March 1, 1890, Hong Kong) also described the highly successful rate of mission schools and the pleasing results of the Victoria Home and Orphanage which was opened on March 1, 1888,

We placed the school in Class III under the grant-in-aid scheme....30 of girls had made up the attendances for examination, and were examined by H. M. Inspector on Dec. 21st 1889. One alone failed to satisfy him. Two of our girls went in for the Belillios competitive examination, and we have heard unofficially that they have carried off the second and third prizes respectively. The first prize was gained by one of the girls from the Basel Mission Girls School, so that all three prizes have been awarded to mission-school children.

31

Meanwhile, Davies also reported very high success of her Training Home. She stated,

....this Training Home has the reputation among the Chinese of having the best Rules,-- the strictest Disciplines and the highest standard of work.

32

Indeed, the mission schools held a very high status

among the Chinese who often preferred them to the government vernacular schools, since the teachers' qualifications were better³³ in the former, in the absence of formal teachers' training schools.

Substantially, the results of the examinations in mission schools were generally very high. Parents were impressed by the good teaching methods and austere discipline. Because of these merits and the future prospects, some parents and students put aside their indifference to the Gospel and increased their interest in mission schools. As a matter of fact, good results and the prestige of the mission schools provided a good means of selecting students of good quality through keen competition from the masses. The production of outstanding students and elites was a consequence of this policy. Gradually, their influence on society grew.

Holmes pointed out the desirable effect on society brought about by mission schools,

their subsequent popularity helped to determine their long-range influence.

³⁴

With good academic results, students from mission schools were able to climb the social ladder as leaders in society. For the missions, the provision of the best and highest education, as Hughes-Hallett wrote, was

....the opportunity given us (missions) for influencing the lives and thought of those who will be leaders of the coming generation.

³⁵

In fact, one of the ultimate purposes for the missions was to enhance the impact of Christianity by

means of education. These leaders in society would be, the writer is certain, good seeds in the Christian world.

Indirectly, the implicit Hong Kong government policy of creating an English-speaking elite helped missionary education and religious work a good deal. The nurture of the English-speaking Chinese elites with Western knowledge was the policy of the government in order to maintain political stability in Hong Kong. The Chinese elites inevitably supported the government willingly, with the other English elites, in order to maintain their economic and political status. The emphasis on the status of the English language was one of the means to create controllable elites. The government of Hong Kong gave an elite education through Anglo-Chinese Schools and decreased its help to Vernacular Schools. This intention was explicit in the Report of the Committee on Education 1902:

The Committee hold that what education is given should be thorough, and that better results will be obtained by assisting to enlighten the ignorance of the upper classes of Chinese than by attempting to force new ideas on the mass of the people. Civilized ideas among the leaders of thought are the best and perhaps only means at present available of permeating the general ignorance: for this reason much more attention has been paid to the Anglo-Chinese schools than to the Vernacular.

36

The mission schools took advantage of this government policy to ensure their effective missionary enterprise through their schools. As C. T. Smith wrote,

However, the great bulk of the Chinese who learned

formal English in the nineteenth century were trained in schools where English was the principal means of instruction. That is to say they acquired Western-type knowledge along with their English. Most of these schools were conducted by mission societies.

37

Furthermore, the Government Grant-in-aid policy in 1873 was based on payment-by-results. This indirectly helped the mission schools to select good students. The grant was paid to the schools according to the results of the annual examination on secular subjects conducted by

38

the Inspector. The grant given for a pass in the English school was much more than that given in the

39

vernacular schools. Later, the policy was changed so that the grant was made to English schools if they entered the scheme initially. Yet, the plan was found to be difficult to carry out. Certainly, among the English schools up to this date, most were run by the missions.

In Hong Kong, English and Westernised thought gave enhanced opportunities to pupils in Hong Kong to climb up towards leadership. As Smith wrote,

I will show that the first rung (in the ladder to elite status) in nineteenth-century Hong Kong was education at an English-language school, and further, that people typically progressed after their education, from government servant-- usually as interpreter-- to compradore,⁴⁰ capitalist, and finally appointment to the Legislative Council.

41

As a matter of fact, at that time, the English-language schools, which were equivalent to the secondary school level, were almost exclusively established by the missionary societies, except for the Hong Kong Government Central School (set up in 1862) and Belilios Public School

for Girls (set up in 1893).

In other words, mission schools were almost the sole spring-board for better job opportunities and social mobility. English proficiency was a requirement for appointment of a Chinese for most of the lucrative commercial posts, professional elites (e.g. doctors and lawyers) as well as members of the Legislative and Executive Council. Even nowadays, this is still true. The English language was made important because of the growing commercial needs in Hong Kong. Besides, the British officials encouraged English Schools by making it a requirement that a "knowledge of English was a prerequisite of Government service"⁴² which was a common phenomenon in the British Colonies. As a consequence, the masses had to study English if they wanted to improve their status and financial means. As Holmes pointed out,

Mission schools offered opportunities of upward social and political mobility, and they were obviously attractive to the agencies of British power.

⁴³

In short, mission schools were an attractive and effective means of climbing up the social ladder.

The writer summarises and classifies the number of the Chinese interpreters in the 19th century who worked in the Supreme Court and Police Magistracy in Hong Kong in the table below. These jobs were regarded as very high-pay and "were most likely to reach the highest status eventually".⁴⁴

Table 17 Number of Chinese Interpreters Working
in the Supreme Court and Police Magistracy
in the 19th Century

	No.	% Out of Total
Scholars of mission schools in Hong Kong	15	57.7
Scholars of mission schools but not in Hong Kong	2	7.7
Scholars of Queen's College	4	15.4
Unknown	5	19.2
Total	26	100.0

Source: Carl T. Smith, "English-Educated Chinese Elites in
Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong", op.cit., pp.65-96.

Note: Scholars attending in different mission schools in
and beyond Hong Kong were counted as scholars of
mission schools in Hong Kong.

With reference to the figures shown above, one can
clearly understand the influence of the mission schools,
regardless of whether they were established inside or
outside Hong Kong.

Indeed, a very noticeable feature in evidence was
that the Government interpreters or the Chinese leaders in
Hong Kong during the period 1842 to 1905 were mostly
educated in the Protestant mission schools. A striking
fact is that the Chinese interpreters listed above, all,
without exception, were from the Protestant schools. In
the writer's opinion, this follows from the fact that the
Roman Catholic Schools were initially established mainly

for the Portuguese and European Catholics catering for their commercial needs to work as clerks and the like. The Saviour's College (1852-1881) and the St. Joseph's College (established in 1876) were the famous Catholic schools at a higher educational level. Yet, these two Colleges initially took care of the Europeans providing⁴⁵ mainly commercial education. Another reason is that the Catholic schools run on European lines usually paid attention to English, but not Chinese. This is evident in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for the year 1905. Irving complained that nothing had "been done to teach the Chinese boys their own language" in St. Joseph's⁴⁶ College.

In Hong Kong, most of the English-speaking elites in the 1860s and 1870s were educated in the School of Morrison Education Society, the Anglo-Chinese College and St. Paul's College. In the writer's opinion, this should be attributed to the aims of these three mission schools. One of the aims of establishing the Morrison Education Society was to "support Schools in China and to teach to⁴⁷ natives the English language" with the express proviso that the Bible and books on Christianity should be read in the schools. As for the Anglo-Chinese College, there was much work on English and Chinese language translation in order to train native Ministers and help in the translation of scriptures. Nevertheless, the training of commercial clerks and English-speaking Chinese was

effected, but Christian education was not. As Eitel wrote,

Though it (the Anglo-Chinese College) had trained some useful clerks for mercantile offices, it had failed from a missionary and educational point of view, and recognizing the failure.

48

Dr. Legge's Anglo-Chinese College which also failed to produce any native preacher or teacher but trained some eminent English-speaking Chinese.

49

In St. Paul's College, the training of Chinese clergy in both the English and Chinese languages was stressed. So, the Chinese who were competent in English in one of these comparatively higher standard schools, would have greater chances to be leaders in the Hong Kong society.

In the last decades of the 19th century, elites were mostly educated at the Government Central School (the name of which changed in 1889 to Victoria College and in 1894 to Queen's College) and the Diocesan Boys' School. The latter principally provided education for Eurasian children. The rapid development of Anglo-Chinese schools and the increasing number of English-educated scholars in the Government Central School indicated that the government had a policy of developing English education rather than vernacular. In fact, vernacular education was left in the hands of mission and private schools.

Furthermore, in the late 19th century and early 20th century (before 1905), four Chinese members were appointed to the Legislative Council, viz. Ng Choi (1880-1882), Wong Shing (1884-1890), Ho Kai (1890-1914) and Wei

Yuk (1896-1914). They were also the first Chinese to be appointed Justices of Peace. Among these, Ng Choi (educated in St. Paul's College) and Wong Shing (educated in the School of Morrison Education Society and one time Superintendent in the Printing Office of the L.M.S.) had been educated in the mission schools in Hong Kong. Although Ho Kai and Wei Yuk (the son-in-law of Wong Shing) were not educated in mission schools, they were closely⁵⁰ connected with the missionary societies.

The writer points out that it is rather interesting that Ho Kai's father, Ho Fuk-tong (alias Ho Tsun-sheen), and Wei Yuk's father, Wei Kwong, were educated in mission schools outside Hong Kong. Ho Kai's father, who was educated in the Anglo-Chinese College of the L.M.S. in Malacca, became the first Chinese ordained as a pastor in⁵¹ their denomination in 1846. Wei Yuk's father was educated at the American Board School for Chinese at Singapore, and became an interpreter in the Supreme Court and later compradore of the Mercantile Bank of India,⁵² London and China. One can see that Ho Kai and Wei Yuk were the second generation of those who received an English education in the mission schools. Those who received English-language education were obviously influenced by their parents. In 1876, Wei Kwong helped the L.M.S. a good deal in the erection of a school and chapel. Chalmers wrote (Sept 23, 1876, Hong Kong),

I went to a Chinese compradore, a former pupil of Dr. Morrison, called Wei-Kwong and asked him to

head the subscription list with a good sum.

53

Ho and Wei helped the missionary societies financially, by providing building funds. They also acted as leaders in the Chinese community.

As a matter of fact, the English language was regarded as a means to success and wealth. The Anglo-Chinese or English mission schools could engender opportunities for success among the Chinese.

In conclusion, the writer would say that prior to the last quarter of the 19th century, the English-speaking Chinese elite came almost exclusively from the mission schools. The second generation either received an English education in mission schools or were under the influence of their relatives who were connected more or less with the missionary societies. As a matter of fact, in the late 19th century, many scholars turned to study in the two Government schools, Queen's College and Belilios Public School for Girls so that they could learn English without studying the scriptures. This phenomenon was indicated by the large enrolment and success of Queen's College, as well as the Report for 1895,⁵⁴ written by Davies which pointed out this growing tendency.

Moreover, it is important to emphasize the fact that during the period 1842 to 1905, "most Chinese rising to elite status had humble origins".⁵⁵ The attraction of the mission schools among the poor has been highlighted by the writer in Chapter II. It is worth noting that the Chinese

elite who climbed through the means of learning English were originally not well-to-do.

5.1.3 The Promotion of Literacy

The poor could gain most benefit from the mission schools. The schools gave immense help in literacy, although it may be argued that this was not their initial aim. To the mission schools, the literacy of people meant the reading of the Bible and the recognising of the Gospel, thus opening their mind to take in ideas concerning the truth of God or Western thought. It was hoped that through literacy, superstition and ignorance could be removed, and this hope was frequently emphasized⁵⁶ in the records of the missions.

Chinese elementary education, as mentioned previously, concerned principally reading and writing. This means primary school education is a means to promote literacy. The number of pupils in schools indicates how successful literacy was. Thus, by referring to the number of pupils in mission schools in Hong Kong, one can see how successful mission schools were in promoting literacy.

In 1883, Dr. Stewart, the Registrar-General, used the district watchmen to conduct an enquiry into all Hong Kong schools. The results are given below.

Table 18 Number of Schools and Students
in Hong Kong in 1883

Type of Schools	No. of Schools	No. of Students	% of Students Out of Total
Government & Gov't aided	39	2080	26.8
Grant-in-aid Denominational	48	3517	45.3
Outside Gov't Supervision	103	2161	27.9
Total	190	7758	100.0

Source: "Annual Report on Education", Hong Kong
Administrative Report 1883.

From the figures shown above, one can see the importance of mission schools, in which almost half students were enrolled. The figures are similar to those of the Report for 1885 produced by Chalmers. He stated,

One half of them (students in Hong Kong) are taught some form of Christianity.

57

Since the private schools were outside the supervision of the government and had various standards, the number of pupils in them cannot be accurately estimated. At the turn of the century, the number of students in mission schools (under Grant-in-aid Scheme) was still more than 40% out of total, although the private schools developed rapidly. The comparison can be seen below.

Table 19 Number of Students in Hong Kong
in 1896 and 1903

	1896	1903
Schools	No. of Scholars	No. of Scholars ⁺
Govt.	2123	1617
Grant-in-aid	5178	3542
Private	2029	2926
Total	9330	8085
% of Scholars in Grant-in-aid Schools out of Total	55.5	43.8

Sources: (1) "The Educational Report for 1896", Hong Kong
Sessional Papers 1897.

(2) "Report of the Inspector of Schools, for the
year 1903", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1904.

Note: + Reckoned by the average attendance.

Despite the missions' success in promoting literacy in Hong Kong, in the early 20th century, the number of schools and pupils under the missions dwindled. The reasons for this phenomenon have been pointed out in Chapter IV.

It is worthy of note that among the children of school age (5-16), the majority left school at the age of 14 or 15.⁵⁸ Therefore, the actual percentage of children educated would probably be higher than indicated in table below.

Table 20

Number of Educated Children
in Hong Kong in the Second half
of the 19th Century

Year	No. of Children of School Age (6-15)	No. of Children Attending School	% of Educated Children Out of Total
1865	14,000	1870	13.36
1875	13,100	3800	29.00
1883	20,738+	7758	37.40
1896	24,158+	9347	38.69

Sources: Figures compiled from statistics in the Hong Kong educational reports.

Note: + Children of 6-16 years of age.

In comparison with China, the help of the missions in literacy in Hong Kong was improved rapidly. As Pearce in the Report for 1898 pointed out,

There can be no doubt that in things educational Hong Kong is far in advance of China....the success of these primary schools is at once a testimony to the Chinese love of learning and a suggested opportunity which missionary managers are not slow to embrace.

59

Doubtless, the pronounced progress in educational achievement in terms of the literacy in Hong Kong was an aspect of the success of mission schools.

5.1.4 Introduction of Scientific, Commercial, Technical and Cultural Subjects into the Curriculum

Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Bookkeeping and printing were first introduced by missionaries in mission schools, in the curriculum of the

Anglo-Chinese College (L.M.S.) and St. Saviour's College (R.C.) in the 1840s to 1860s.

In most of the mission schools, the subjects taught generally included music, needlework (in girls schools) and science. These subjects were not regarded as appropriate subjects in Chinese traditional schools.

The first College of University standard, the Hong Kong College of Medicine for the Chinese, was established by Sir Kai Ho Kai in association of the London Missionary Society in 1887. This College was the predecessor of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Hong Kong. Chalmers of the L.M.S. was the Chairman of the Senate.⁶⁰ Western medical science was formally introduced to Chinese students and knowledge of Western medicine diffused into the society.

The Alice Memorial Hospital was established in 1887, as a teaching hospital for the students at the Hong Kong College of Medicine. The training of nurses and mid-wives was started at the Nethersole Hospital which was established in the 1893.⁶¹

Superficially, the establishment of the Hong Kong College of Medicine seemed to be most beneficial to the Chinese in Hong Kong. However, the original object of its establishment was to spread medical science to China. Thus, Hong Kong acted as a centre and distributor, not for merchandise only, but also for Science.⁶²

5.1.5 Assistance in the Modernisation of China

Mission schools in Hong Kong introduced Western thought to China. Some of the China's famous diplomats, technologists and politicians were educated in mission schools in Hong Kong, and went abroad for further studies. Examples are Sun Yat-sen, Wu Ting-fang (once educated in St. Paul's College),⁶³ Yung Wing,⁶⁴ Wong Shing and Wong Fun (educated in the School of Morrison Education Society),⁶⁵ Tong Ting-shu⁶⁶ and so on.

Sun Yat-sen, the Father of China and the founder of the Republic of China, had been enrolled in the Diocesan Home and Orphanage in 1883⁶⁷ and was the first year graduate in the Hong Kong College of Medicine for the Chinese in 1892.⁶⁸ He said that his ideas on politics were formed when he was studying in this College.⁶⁹

Dr. Yung Wing studied in the School of the Morrison Education Society.⁷⁰ Later, he became the first Chinese University graduate of Yale University of the U.S.A.. At the end of the 19th century, he advocated sending promising children to the U.S.A.. By so doing, China could improve her knowledge of technology and science by learning from Western civilization.⁷¹ The first group of 33 children was selected in Hong Kong in 1871 and many had been educated in mission schools.⁷² Having received Western education, the students could enter various careers, including commerce, industry, medicine and politics in China.

In the writer's opinion, the comparatively successful development of Western elementary education in Hong Kong, in contrast with China whose "extension of Western educational content and methods to elementary instruction came relatively late",⁷³ could partly account for Hong Kong's prominent role in the Westernisation Movement in China. This is the reason why the centre of educational reform in China, in its early stages (late 19th century), placed an emphasis on the higher educational level rather than the elementary level. In this way it was hoped to achieve immediate success in modernization. Indirectly, the reform gave opportunities to boys from Hong Kong to study the modern educational foundations of Western knowledge at a high level. Although the Meishee School (a mission school), opened in Shanghai in 1876, was probably the first modern elementary school,⁷⁴ the development of mission schools in China was restricted by many complicated factors.

Meanwhile, many students in Hong Kong educated along the Western educational lines in Mission schools were employed by the Chinese government and some students were admitted as cadets into the Naval College etc. established by the Chinese Government.⁷⁵ The help given to China by these students was vast in different fields, including the commercial and military.

The contact of missionaries and the Chinese was an invisible but effective way of bringing western thoughts

and civilization into the Chinese community. For example, Hung Yen-kon was one of the leaders who opposed the Ching Emperor during the Taiping rebellion (1851-1864). His thoughts on institutional innovation (equality of sex, abolition of idolatry etc.) were influenced by his missionary friends, Rev. Theodore Hamberg and Rev. Rudolph Lechler (who arrived in Hong Kong in 1847) of the Basel mission.⁷⁶ Hung also assisted the propagation of Faith by the L.M.S..⁷⁷

5.1.6 Assistance in Education and Social Welfare

The missions helped the government a good deal in releasing it from the burden of educational development in aspects of management, finance, and work and promotion. The missionaries who acted as the managers of the schools were learned men. Thus they were suitable people to boost the educational enterprise. The government could avoid much administrative expense and trouble, including supervision, personnel problems, and expenditure on civil servants by giving grants and a free hand to the churches to run their schools.

⁷⁸
The Report of the Inspector of Schools for 1901 recorded "the Average Cost of Each Scholar (Calculated by Enrolment)" as follows:

	H.K.\$
(a) At Belilios Public Schools	13.66
(b) At Other Departmental Schools	7.69
(c) At Grant-in-Aid Schools	3.78

Thus, the assistance of mission schools to the government in terms of finance is clear.

Consequently, the government's educational work could be effected with half the effort that would otherwise have been necessary. In these circumstances, the government could devote more money and effort to other affairs.

Mission could be a major help to the government in showing how innovations along Western educational lines could properly be run. This set a valuable example, which was all the more helpful because the Chinese traditional ideology was still widespread outside the mission schools.

As Rowe (Report for 1887, Hong Kong) pointed out,

The government Inspector of Schools reports very favourably on the mission schools and states the grant-in-aid schools continue to improve year by year in organisation and effectiveness of teaching. 79

This can be exemplified in the early 20th century by the case of the new texts and methods which were added to the subject of Chinese. The teachers and managers in mission schools appeared to be more adaptable than the others. This might be that the Christians had cherished Western educational thought and had broader minds.

Because of other pressing needs, such as public construction, the government in this period (1842-1905)

was unable to pay much attention to the abandoned children or orphans. The problem of homeless boys and girls was troubling society. Sir Hennessy found that in 1876, of 7,998 criminal convictions, half were juveniles. He "argued that this pointed to some connection between crime and the lack of education".⁸⁰ With the likelihood that these boys and girls might be sold to Nan Yang (South-east Asia) as labourers or as mui-tsai (young maids) respectively, missions frequently took a large part in the work for these children and undoubtedly helped a good deal in tackling these social problems. Orphanages and a reformatory were established by the missions to help the orphans and delinquent children. Thus there was considerable cooperation between the missions and the government in the educational field.

5.2 Predictions

In the thesis, the determining factors governing the educational development in Hong Kong have been shown to be government policies, missionary policies, and people's reaction to the government and missionary policies, as well as the economic and political situations. The differences in educational development between Hong Kong and China lie in the above mentioned four factors. The predictions which follow, on missionary educational development in Hong Kong, will be based on these factors.

In these concluding remarks an attempt will be made to make some predictions about the likely future of mission schools in Hong Kong in the new political circumstances which will prevail after 1997.

Before making predictions about the development of mission schools in Hong Kong after 1997, it will be helpful to make quick reference to the present Chinese Government policy and the development of mission schools in China.

In the late Ching Dynasty (by the turn of the 20th century), many riots were against Christianity since some missionaries engaged in political affairs. Then, in the early 20th century, many Chinese held no positive view of Christianity. During the period of the Communist Government of China (from 1949 till now), the government strongly opposed any religious notions. Missionaries are regarded as products of imperialism which are harmful to the country. There were no mission schools in Communist China since China has been a Communist country, and none during and after the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Hence, it can be categorically stated that mission schools in China were developed less successfully than those in Hong Kong.

Under the Sino-British Joint Declaration which entered into force on May 27, 1985, "Hong Kong will become with effect from July 1, 1997 a special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China".⁸¹ The Chinese

Government promised that the whole system in Hong Kong which included the educational system would remain unchanged for fifty years after 1997. The writer would like to emphasize the fact that there are no precedents in history where a place ceased to be a British Colony, yet remained a dependent state of a country with an entirely different constitution. Therefore, no precedent case could be based on for prediction. The fifty years after 1997 will serve as a transitional period which is a preparation for change. Hence, the educational policy in Hong Kong after 1997 will not change drastically given that the present political situation, in China in terms of political leaders and general policy, remains unchanged.

As the writer has emphasized earlier again and again in the thesis, government policy is the key factor in the formulation of educational policy. Nevertheless, it is difficult to predict government policy, particularly in Communist China, as one can learn from history. For instance, the government policy differed considerably in the period before the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), from that after the Cultural Revolution and the restoration of the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. Recently, there has been a revival in interest in Confucianism, Confucian philosophy and the Classics which were once severely condemned. In the Times Higher Education Supplement (Sept 27, 1985), the article "Confucius returns to Chinese Curriculum" by Geoffrey Parkins informed us that,

....a Confucian Research Institute was opened in Peking earlier this month which will study and evaluate Confucian doctrine and ethics.... The institute is being sponsored by the People's University in Peking, the Shaanxi Teachers College and the Qufu regional government where Confucius was born.

As a matter of fact, government policy is, to a great extent, unpredictable. Nevertheless, this revised interest in Confucianism shows the profound influence of Confucianism on the traditional Chinese ideology.

From the study of the development of mission schools in Hong Kong from 1842 to 1905, in the chapters II, III, and IV, it is evident that government policy is a major determinant accounting for either the success or failure of mission schools. Hence, in the predictions about the future of mission schools in Hong Kong after 1997, government policy needs to be taken into consideration.

Now the writer is going to make predictions about the future development of mission schools in Hong Kong on three major aspects of educational development, with reference to their past achievements which has been discussed in great details in 5.1 of this chapter:

(1) whether, or not, mission schools will be able to provide religious education after 1997. In relation to this, the role of mission schools and their financial situations will be predicted,

(2) whether, or not, mission schools will follow the Chinese or Western lines of education after 1997. In relation to this, the writer will also predict the

curriculum content, teaching pedagogy and the medium of instruction which these missions schools will choose to follow, and

(3) whether, or not, mission schools in Hong Kong will be able to continue their provision in girls' education under the Chinese Government after 1997.

With regard to the first prediction on whether, or not, mission schools, after 1997, will be able to provide religious education in Hong Kong, the writer would argue that given that the policy of "One Country Two Systems", is to be carried out, the Chinese Government will probably tolerate mission schools (namely Christian schools or church-related schools). It is worth noting that these mission schools have been localised in this century and many Chinese teachers, whether Christian or not, have taken up the responsibility of introducing Western knowledge to pupils, which was mainly the role of European missionaries in the 19th century. After 1997 the role of these mission schools will be the promotion of literacy, which has been a major achievement of mission schools ever since the beginning of the Grant-in-aid Scheme in 1873, rather than the promotion of modernisation.

The Chinese Government may encourage local non-religious Chinese to run schools for the promotion of literacy. However, a comparison of literacy in Hong Kong and China suggests that literacy rate can be raised by tolerating mission schools. At present, with the help of

a great number of mission schools, it is possible for the Hong Kong Government to carry out nine-year, free, compulsory education. In 1979, 44% of the school population were studying in mission schools which were mostly subsidized by the government.⁸² On the contrary, in China, because of the unfavourable economic conditions and the absence of missionary help, the literacy rate is low. In 1983, 235 million people above twelve years of age were illiterate or semi-literate.⁸³ After 1997, the Chinese Government might value the mission schools' contribution to the promotion of literacy in Hong Kong.

As far as the Communist Government is concerned, the development of these mission schools, be they Catholic or Protestant, would be on an equal footing. There will not be any partiality. Their assisting role of educational development in Hong Kong will be of equal importance. Although the Catholic schools used to provide education for Europeans, most Catholic schools in Hong Kong now provide education for the Chinese. So, even if all the Europeans leave Hong Kong for political reasons, these Catholic schools would still be able to provide education for the Chinese. Therefore, the crucial factor is whether, or not, the Government could tolerate religious teaching.

As for the finance of mission schools, for the transitional period of fifty years after 1997, mission schools are very likely to receive a Government subsidy as

is mostly the case now. One cannot, however, imagine that the Communist Government tolerates mission schools to promote an evangelical programme. Eventually, it is likely that the Chinese Government would withdraw any subsidy from these mission schools which are against the Communist ideology. If these missions resort to local contributions, the writer predicts that the amount of contribution will gradually decrease. It is very likely that the Communist Government will restrict preaching in the Church, which is now the case in China. In the long run, with a small number of church members, these mission schools will surely be in financial difficulties and forced to close down. Ever since the native churches adopted the self-support policy, it has been difficult for them to ask their mother mission to provide financial assistance from overseas.

After the transitional period, if the Chinese Government insists on a purely secular curriculum, it is unlikely that these church-related schools can continue to exist. Even if they do exist, they will not be able to claim that they are Christian schools, because of the government's restrictions on their nature. The reason is simple and straightforward; from the religious point of view, the most important principle of church-related schools is to spread the Word of God through education. Apart from the teaching of religious subjects being an explicit influence, an implicit influence through the

physical decoration of the schools and the religious atmosphere is regarded as essential.

On the other hand, schools in China are all centrally administered, and conform common standards. It is doubtful whether the Chinese Government can allow these mission schools to exist and continue to claim herself to be a Communist country, which should do without religious notions in the strictest sense. Hence, for political reason, the Chinese Government is likely to resort to other sources for improvement in literacy rate or modernisation.

As for modernisation, there are now more able non-Christian Chinese who have received Western education and thus are able to assist in the modernization of the country. Recently, many senior posts or Department heads have been taken up by local Chinese. The mission schools do not, therefore, have a monopoly of Western knowledge.

In respect of the second prediction, the writer holds the opinion that the educational policy in Hong Kong will probably be modelled on the Western lines in terms of curriculum, pedagogy, administration and professional training after 1997, though Hong Kong will no longer be a British Colony but part of the Chinese Territory. If China is to strengthen her military power and trade, and advance in her science and technology, Western education is an important means of breaking preconceived notions against Western things, and achieving China's other goals.

Without doubt, if the standard of living in China is to be raised, the closed door policy is not workable. In fact, China recognises the importance of modernisation as in the Four Modernisations Movement. It is very likely that mission schools will be able to continue to run education on Western lines. Nevertheless, as the writer has argued earlier, mission schools are not the only access to Western knowledge for modernisation. Hence, future development will depend much more on the Chinese Government's attitude towards Christianity.

Likewise, pedagogical devices will be on the Western lines simply because of the structure of knowledge, particularly in science and technology. Rote learning is not applicable particularly in scientific subjects. In this respect, the demand for change or adaptation for mission schools is less.

Before considering the curriculum after 1997, it is worth noting that public examination system has been a common Government machinery for the selection of elites or civil servants in ancient and contemporary China as well as under the Colonial Government of Hong Kong. The examination syllabus governs the content of the curriculum and the medium of instruction to a great extent. In the writer's research, it has been found that, for normal practice, mission schools particularly the Protestant would react positively to the Government's educational plan. They have always been aiming for first-rate

standards to attract pupils. If the Chinese Government is to modernise, Western subjects will be in the curriculum and form part of the examination syllabus. The writer predicts that mission schools will continue their role in teaching Western subjects and keep up their first-rate standards. Due to Government policy, with the gradual importance of Chinese, the writer predicts that Anglo-Chinese schools will be altered into vernacular schools which will help in the teaching of both Cantonese and Putonghua. English language will be more emphasized. Communist ideology will almost certainly be introduced as the content of civic education, which is very important in fostering good citizenship essential to any form of government and will be designed according to the new way of the government.

Now let us turn to consider the medium of instruction used in schools and the status of English, the writer would suggest that Chinese will gradually supersede English. In other words, Chinese (Cantonese or Putonghua) will be the medium of instruction in secondary schools except in the subject of English language. As mentioned earlier, Anglo-Chinese mission schools (secondary schools) will gradually decrease. The Chinese Government may even make Putonghua the medium of instruction for all schools in Hong Kong when she considers the time is ripe.

It has been consistently found that during the three periods between 1842 and 1905, the Chinese preserved their

own deeply-rooted culture. Were it not for the abolition of the Imperial Examination in 1905, English would not have assumed the importance it did, and the British could not have successfully introduced English in Hong Kong as a Colonial Policy. During the period 1842 to 1905, evidence has shown that the Chinese learnt English for pragmatic reasons namely for better job opportunities and social mobility. For this reason, mission schools did not achieve a great number of conversions. This also applies to the present situation in Hong Kong.

Nowadays, in Hong Kong, there are many advantages for a person who is proficient in English through which he can climb the social ladder. If a candidate fails in English in the Advanced Level Examination, he usually cannot be admitted to the University of Hong Kong.

In addition, at present, English is a valuable asset in working life. It is well stated in the Syllabuses for Secondary Schools: Syllabus for English (Forms I - V), Hong Kong, 1983 that,

Proficiency in English widens considerably the range of job opportunities open to school leavers in Hong Kong, and in many sectors of industry, commerce and administration....

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In order to work in the government, regardless of whether it is a clerical or a senior post, one has to, at least, pass in English. For most government posts, interviews are in English.

As a matter of fact, the number of Anglo-Chinese schools has increased by leaps and bounds. This can be

seen from the following figures:

Table 21 Enrolment in Secondary Day Schools
(March 1984, Hong Kong)

	Students	% Out of Total
English Schools	2,967	0.73
Anglo-Chinese Schools	361,893	89.05
Chinese Schools	41,529	10.22
All Schools	406,389	100.00

Source: Half-yearly Statistical Summary for March 1984,
Statistics Section, Education Department, Hong
Kong, July 1984.

Notes: The schools in the table include government, aided
and private schools.

However, despite the increasing importance of
English, Chinese as a subject still has a firm role in the
curriculum.

Although English is made important through government
policy, unlike other colonies, the mother tongue of the
Chinese in Hong Kong is not forgotten. A great majority
of the Chinese in Hong Kong communicate in Cantonese, a
Chinese dialect, which is the Lingua Franca in the
community. The Chinese Language Movement was at its peak
in the 1970s. As a result, the Chinese language was
declared to be one of the official languages of Hong Kong
for the purposes of communication between the Government
or any public officer and members of the public under the
Official Language Ordinance of 1974. Thereafter, both

English and Chinese languages are official languages in Hong Kong although English is still dominant in respect of continuing education and employment.

The writer agrees with Torrey's opinion on social-psychological implications of language learning which also apply to the attitude of Chinese in Hong Kong towards learning English that,

It is small wonder that adolescents and adults, who have already allied themselves with one culture, feel embarrassed or reluctant to throw themselves into the part of a foreigner or a member of a lower status minority.

86

Now, there is evidence showing the increasing influence of the Chinese language. The scaling test of English in the Junior Secondary Education Assessment System (JSEA), includes instructions in both languages, i.e. English and Chinese. Furthermore, invigilators are required to give Chinese instructions in the test of English. In the Education Commission Report No. 1 (Oct, 1984), it stated that,

The traditional distinction that Anglo-Chinese Schools use English as the language of instruction and Chinese Middle Schools use Chinese has become blurred with the expansion of universal junior secondary education and both languages are, in fact, being used in varying degrees in both types of schools. This evolution is within the broad framework of the Government policy, which is that individual school authorities should themselves decide whether the medium of instruction should be English or Chinese for any particular subject in junior secondary forms.

87

Once again, government policy has an influential role in the choice of the medium of instruction by various school authorities, and there are hints of a gradual

increase in the importance of Chinese in the policies of the British Government. Examples can be found in the recommendations made in the Education Commission Report No. 1 on the use of Chinese as the medium of instruction:

....we recommend that individual secondary school authorities should be encouraged to adopt Chinese as the medium of teaching.

88

Bilingual textbooks, although more expensive, should not be ruled out....

89

....(the government should) put an end to the distinction between Anglo-Chinese and Chinese Middle schools by encouraging the removal of such references from the names of schools.

90

Theoretically, the distinction between the Anglo-Chinese schools and the Chinese Middle Schools lies in the medium of instruction. The removal of the distinction clearly has important implications for the status of the Chinese language.

Recently there have been clear indications of the change in policy which will counter-balance the influential status of English. First, Cantonese has also been made the medium of instruction in some Anglo-Chinese schools. Second, Putonghua is to be learnt compulsorily in the fourth grade of primary schools from 1986. Third, it is likely that the language medium indicator, i.e. Syllabus A or Syllabus B, will be removed from in the HKCE as proposed by the Education Commission. Fourth, there have already been signs of the gradual increase in the importance of Chinese. For example, the members of the Legislative Council can use either Chinese or English in

their speeches.

The writer therefore predicts that English will continue to decline in importance as the Chinese government is likely to promote the Chinese language on the grounds of dignity and national identity.

Perhaps, some might argue that English will remain important in promoting commerce and trade. Nevertheless, the writer considers that Japan is an excellent example to refute this argument. Despite the fact that Japan enjoys first class economic status in the world, English is not as highly valued in that country as in Hong Kong. The influence of English is confined to commerce and foreign dealings. Hence, should mission~~y~~ schools which are now mostly Anglo-Chinese Schools in Hong Kong be allowed to exist, their past role in preparing English-speaking Chinese elite would no longer seem appropriate. This is simply because senior Government posts will no longer be dominated by these English-speaking Chinese. Furthermore, after 1997, when Hong Kong becomes part of the Chinese territory again, it will be unnecessary to rely on English as the only important means for either further studies or employment in Hong Kong. Thus, mission schools are likely to continue to aim for good results in preparing elite of different specialist fields.

As for the last prediction, the writer believes that the Chinese Government will aim to provide education for all regardless of whether they are boys or girls. In

1983, in China 31.6% of scientists and technicians were women, although only 2% had senior ranking.⁹¹ Under the Communist ideology, equality is emphasized. Hence, girls' education will very likely be encouraged by the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, due to the deeply-rooted traditional ideology as has been discussed in Chapter 1, in China, in spite of the liberation, girls' education is despised in practice by most Chinese peasants who account⁹² for about 80% of the population.

As mentioned earlier, the Chinese Government may not rely solely on the assistance of mission schools. Should the Chinese Government tolerate mission schools to raise the literacy rate, girls' education will not be ignored. In fact, co-education is not uncommon both in China and Hong Kong.

In short, government policy is likely to be the major influence on educational development after 1997. While it is difficult to predict details of government policies, there are a number of aims which are likely to predominate. These will include, the promotion of the Chinese language, literacy, equality of boys and girls and communist ideology. Within this framework of government policy, it is unlikely that mission schools will be permitted to play a major role, except possibly in the promotion of literacy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

- (1) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Miss. Davies' Report for 1892, Hong Kong.
- (2) B. Holmes, op.cit., p.1.
- (3) CWM Archives: G4, Box4.
- (4) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1881, Rev. J. Grundy's letter.
- (5) Mr. J. L. Shuck who had been ordained and accepted by the Board of the Baptist Triennial Convention, as a missionary to China, was married to Henrietta Hall on Sept 8, 1835. In 1845, he left Hong Kong for the United States and transferred his connection to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention later. For details, refer to A. Wylie, op.cit., pp.90-1.
- (6) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.11.
- (7) Ibid., p.5.
- (8) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2.
- (9) Annual Letter 1902, p.521.
- (10) Hong Kong Administrative Report 1880-81.
- (11) Ibid.
- (12) "The Educational Report for 1888", Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889.
- (13) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2.
- (14) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2.
- (15) CWM Archives: South Reports-- Reports, Chalmers' Report for 1887, Hong Kong.
- (16) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.100.
- (17) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2, Davies' Report for 1890, Hong Kong.
- (18) CWM Archives: South China, G4, Box13.
- (19) CWM Archives: G4, Box5.
- (20) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1884, South China, p.442.

- (21) Annual Letter 1902, p.517.
- (22) Ibid.
- (23) J. C. Keyte, op.cit., p.87.
- (24) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889.
- (25) Ibid.
- (26) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1904, Hong Kong.
- (27) Olga Lang, op.cit., p.104.
- (28) F. Hughes-Hallett, op.cit., p.58.
- (29) CWM Archives, South China-- Reports, Box 3.
- (30) Church Missionary Intelligencer 1884, South China, letter from Rev. J. B. Ost dated July 1884, Hong Kong, p.442.
- (31) Annual Letter 1889-90, South China, letter from Rev. Ost dated March 1, 1890, Hong Kong.
- (32) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Davies' Report for 1901, Hong Kong.
- (33) F. Hughes-Hallett, op.cit., p.38.
- (34) H. Holmes, op.cit., p.1.
- (35) F. Hughes-Hallett, op.cit., p.58.
- (36) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1903: Report of the Committee on Education 1902, p.32.
- (37) C. T. Smith, "English-Educated Chinese Elites in Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong", in M. Topley (ed.), Hong Kong: the Interaction of Traditions and Life in the Towns, Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1972, p.67.
- (38) This policy, more or less, was influenced by 1862 Robert Lowe Revised Code in England.
- (39) For details, see the Hong Kong Educational Reports from 1873 to 1903.
- (40) The compradore was the middleman between the foreign firm which employed him, and the Chinese staff of the firm; and between that firm and the Chinese merchants

and traders with whom it transacted business. For details, see C. T. Smith, "English-Educated Chinese Elites", op.cit., p.66.

- (41) Ibid., p.65.
- (42) B. Holmes, op.cit., p.28.
- (43) Ibid., p.32.
- (44) C. T. Smith, "English-Educated Chinese Elites", op.cit., p.69.
- (45) Ticozzi, op.cit., p.105.
- (46) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1906, p.497.
- (47) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., pp.15-6.
- (48) E. J. Eitel, Europe in China, op.cit., p.347.
- (49) Ibid., pp.280-1.
- (50) C. T. Smith, "English-Educated Chinese Elites", op.cit., p.85.
- (51) For details, see Dr. Legge's "Sketch of the Life of Ho Tsun Sheen" (March 13, 1872), CWM Archives: G4 Box 7.
- (52) C. T. Smith, "English-Educated Chinese Elites", op.cit., p.71.
- (53) CWM Archives: G4, Box 8.
- (54) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2.
- (55) C. T. Smith, "English-Educated Chinese Elites", op.cit., p.68.
- (56) CWM Archives: China-- Odd 6, Hong Kong and New Territories Evangelization Society, Report for 1918, p.3.
- (57) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box 1.
- (58) "Annual (Educational) Report for 1881", Hong Kong Administrative Report 1880-81.
- (59) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box 3.
- (60) G. H. Choa, op.cit., p.57.
- (61) Christian Missions in Hongkong, op.cit., p.3.

- (62) G. H. Choa, op.cit., p.57. It is quoted from Dr. Patrick Manson's words.
- (63) Wu Ting-fang, as named Ng Choy, the first Chinese in Legislative Council, Hong Kong, later, became a famous diplomat in China.
- (64) Wong Shing was the superintendent of the Printing Office of the L.M.S., the interpreter of the "Chinese Educational Mission" to U.S.A. and a member in Legislative Council, Hong Kong in the late 19th century.
- (65) Wong Fun (or Wong Foon), the first Chinese educated in Western Medicine, was a graduate of Edinburgh University in 1857.
- (66) Tong Ting-shu was a central person in advocating the Westernisation Movement in China and a student of the Morrison Education Society School and the Anglo-Chinese College of the L.M.S..
- (67) G. B. Endacott and D. E. She, op.cit., p.157.
- (68) Lo Hsiang-lin, The Role of Hong Kong in the Cultural Interchange between East and West, Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Culture, 1961, p.143.
- (69) Ibid.
- (70) In 1847, the Principal of the Morrison Education Society School, Rev. Sammuel Robbin Brown, returned to New York accompanying three Chinese students, i.e. Yung Wing, Wong Shing and Wong Fun. Moreover, Rev. S. R. Brown was described as "A maker of the New Orient" since the first group of Chinese and Japanese were led by him to study abroad for the purpose of learning Western culture.
- (71) T. E. LaFargue, China's First Hundred (1872-1881), Washington D. C., Washington State College, 1942, Chapter 1.
- (72) Ibid., Chapter 2 & 3.
- (73) E. S. Rawski, op.cit., p.157.
- (74) T. E. Hsiao, The History of Modern Education in China, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935, p.34.
- (75) CWM Archives, South China-- Reports, Eitel's Report for 1875.

- (76) CWM Archives: G4, Box6, Dr. Legge's letter (July 11, 1862, Hong Kong).
- (77) Wang Chih-hsin, Chung-kuo chi-tu-chiao shih-kang (History of Christianity in China), Hong Kong, The Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese, 1959, p.204.
- (78) Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1902.
- (79) CWM Archives: South China-- Reports, Box2.
- (80) G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, op.cit., p.234.
- (81) Hong Kong 1986, Hong Kong Government Printer, p.14.
- (82) Education, The Hong Kong Christian Council, 1980. cover page.
- (83) Beijing Review, 1.10.1983., p.26.
- (84) Curriculum Development Committee, Hong Kong, Syllabuses for Secondary Schools: Syllabus for English Forms I-V, 1983, p.8.
- (86) J. W. Torrey, "Second-Language Learning", in Carroll E. Reed (ed.), The Learning of Language, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971, p.233.
- (87) Education Commission Report No. 1, Hong Kong, Oct. 1984, p.40.
- (88) Ibid., p.43.
- (89) Ibid., p.45.
- (90) Ibid.
- (91) J. Cleverley, op.cit., p.267.
- (92) Ibid.

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